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Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

26, SUFFOLK STREET.

Sept 9 1851.

Sir,

I am ordered by the Central Committee of this Institute to offer for your acceptance the accompanying Vols in return for your liberality in the presentation of a plate to the last No of Journal

I am
Your obt Servt
Secretaries

H. Rickards

The Central Committee of the Archaeological Institute, in presenting to the Subscribing Members of the Society the Report of the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, held at Winchester, with the chief communications of local interest made on that occasion, would express their regret that it has been found impracticable to include in the publication the whole of the valuable papers submitted to the meeting. Having felt it to be not only expedient, but necessary, to restrict the annual volume to the illustration of the antiquities of the city and county selected as the place of the annual meeting, they have deemed it preferable to reserve, for future publication in the "Archaeological Journal," many communications of importance, which could only have been given in abstract in the present volume.

The Central Committee desire it to be understood, that they are not answerable for any opinions or observations that may appear in the publications of the Institute; the authors of the several papers and dissertations being alone responsible for the same.

12, Haymarket, August 13, 1846.

PROCEEDINGS

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Archaeological Institute

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

AT WINCHESTER, SEPTEMBER, MDCCCXLV.

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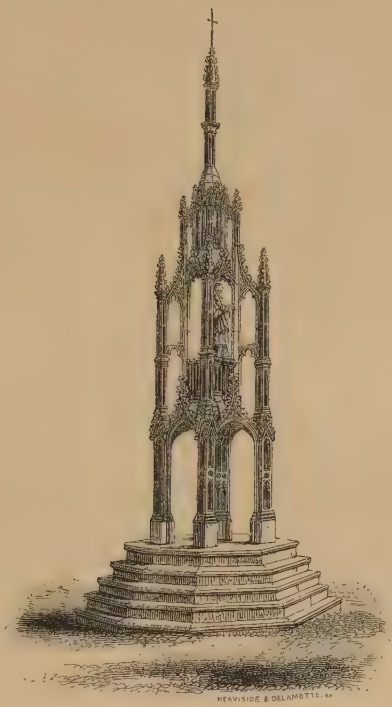

THE CITY CROSS, WINCHESTER.

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The Architectural Works of William of Wykeham. By C. R. Cockerell, Esq., Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy.

Notices of the Painted Glass in the Cathedral and Churches of Winchester and its Neighbourhood. By Charles Winston, Esq.

Architectural Notes of the Churches and other Ancient Buildings in the City and Neighbourhood of Winchester. By J. H. Parker.

Notices of the Mint and Exchange at Winchester; with a List of Moneyers. By Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum.

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Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

ANNUAL MEETING,

HELD AT WINCHESTER, COMMENCING TUESDAY, SEPT. 9, 1845.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL MEETING.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1845.

A General Meeting was held at 12 o'clock at St. John's Rooms, the County Hall being found not large enough to contain the number of persons attending. The walls of the large room were covered with interesting rubbings of sepulchral brasses, communicated principally by the Rev. E. Hill, of Christ Church, Oxford, William Bromet, Esq., M.D., the Rev. C. Hartshorne, and the Rev. H. Addington. There were also exhibited casts from the curious fonts in Winchester cathedral, and East Meon church; on the latter is sculptured a very rude representation of the Creation and Fall of man. The President, attended by the Vice-Presidents, and numerous members of the several Committees, having entered the room, ascended the platform, and the business of the meeting commenced.

THE MARQUIS of NORTHAMPTON, having taken the chair, addressed the meeting. He said it was his pleasing duty to open the proceedings of this meeting, which, from what he saw in that room, would prove as gratifying as its most earnest promoters could wish. He should not enter into a discussion on the nature and value of the study of archæology, for that subject would be much more ably handled by the reverend gentleman who would follow him, the Dean of Westminster. He might be allowed, however, to repeat what had been said by others before him, that archæology was the handmaid of history—without her, history would be a mere skeleton; archæology served to re-animate the dry bones of facts, and to give a colouring where all was lifeless before. Without dwelling further on this subject, he would now notice one or two charges that had been made against the Association. A statement had gone abroad that this was a political meeting, but the notion was in itself so perfectly ridiculous that he did not feel in the slightest manner called upon to refute it. It had been said that it was a polemical meeting. For this also there was no foundation. It was true that it was very numerously attended by the clergy, of whom he was proud to see so many around him; and that ecclesiastical monuments must naturally be most interesting to them could not be doubted. They had only to look at the work of William of Wykeham, or at the beautiful church of St. Cross, so near to them, and it would be evident that not only professional, but architectural and archæological motives, and no polemical object, had brought them together. If any differences of opinion had arisen among the members of the Established

Church, those present were not met to enter into any discussion upon them; they invited all to join in maintaining those sacred edifices which had been raised, it was impossible to doubt, by a sincere piety, although accompanied with the superstition of a dark age, and which proved the great excellence of architecture at a time when other arts were in comparative debasement. The society might, if they pleased, discuss the wars of the Roses, but with the wars of the 19th century they had nothing whatever to do; and if they at all entered into the religious differences of the past, still they should not into those of the present. With minor complaints he would not trouble them. It was not for them now to consider any differences that might have arisen among archæologists; he deprecated their discussion, although he could not but regret them. Their meeting was indeed a large one, and so numerous and powerful a body could stand by themselves, holding out the hand of friendship to all lovers of archæology who would join them.

The Dean of Westminster (since raised to the see of Oxford) then delivered the following address on the nature and value of the study of archæology.

My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen.—It may seem fit, before we enter into particular inquiries and descriptions, that we should pause for a few moments, and take a general view of the field which lies before us. Such preparation is always wise, and to us it is more than usually needful; for there are certain current impressions concerning our pursuits, which, unless they be dispelled, may infect us with the weakness which for the most part visits those who labour in any vocation which others have marked out for reproach or ridicule.

We cannot conceal from ourselves that the Antiquary has been commonly conceived to be a harmless creature, patient alike and provocative of jibes; with little pith or point of character, and little earnestness except for trifles. Pope, in his sonorous antithesis, has well expressed the common charge,—

> With sharpened sight pale Antiquaries pore,
> The inscription value, but the rust adore.

And whence this common reproach has arisen it may be well for us hereafter to inquire: for such wide-spread charges have commonly some ground of truth on which to rest themselves. But, for the present, it may be better for us to consider what, in aim at least, we are, rather than to dwell, by way either of caution or defence, on what we would not be,—for what we profess to be is neither small nor unimportant.

Assuredly the first idea of our pursuit is noble: we profess to believe in the fellowship which, for all the generations of men, runs through all times. We know that we now are what all those bygone ages have made us to be; and we will not be fooled by the visible intrusive present, into believing that we, and our objects, and our days, are all, or the greatest things. We

see that we are a link in the golden chain which reaches from the beginning to the end. We protest against the old reproach, which likens Time to the beggar "putting good deeds, as alms, into the wallet at his back for mere oblivion." We declare that to "have done" shall no more be "to hang quite out of fashion, like rusty mail in monumental mockery." We know that there was a life—a true-acting life—in those old times, shewing itself forth in those old deeds: and what that life was, we desire earnestly to know. We wish to see it in its own lights and shades: not with the bird's-eye view which may be caught from some distant eminence; but even as it really was,—with its strength and its weakness,—with its beauties and its defects: and for this we know that we must look at it with a loving earnestness;—with love, for to nothing but love will that veiled past reveal its reverend features,—and with earnestness, for it is only by the careful study of its every lineament that we can fashion forth its mysterious countenance. This is our purpose,—to reproduce before our eyes those old times: and therefore is it that we would watch with such a brooding care over every relique, be its outward circumstance in itself beautiful or deformed; for, so that it be not tampered with, and taught a new tale, it is a witness of that which was, and is not,—of that which we would fain recal: and therefore do we pore into its dust; not as if that dust was precious in itself, but precious for the witness which it bears,—precious as the coat of down upon the virgin and unhandled fruit; telling us, that so indeed Time left it, with this cunning overlaying, which should bear silent but undoubted record of any stolen visits of the artfullest intruder.

And therein is the true value of these ancient reliques; and it is for their lack of such particulars that epitomes and compendiums are noted by the sagacious Bacon, as "the corruption and moths that have fretted and corroded many sound and excellent bodies of history, and reduced them to base and unprofitable dregs." For by the ministry of such soft, unobtrusive, and often unregarded voices is borne, if any where, to watching ears the message of the Past: that strain of power and mystery and beauty to which the fool is deaf, but which sounds so sweetly to the wise of heart, and stirs up and enlightens his wisdom within her secret cells. Therefore is it that with curious eyes we would scrutinize every trace of the manners of those who went before us,—that we have dared with no irreverent familiarity to open their mysterious barrows,—that we peer into their dust,—that every common vessel which they used, every coin, every monument, and every ancient grave has a charm for us, because in these lingers for us something of their household words and household deeds;—of the thoughts which they were thinking, and the acts they wrought; because in them the men, as they were, revive before us, and help us by stronger spells than those of fancy, to re-construct, out of its wasted ashes, the busy active past.

Neither is it only as thus embodying a noble metaphysical abstraction that we claim honour for our high pursuit. This linking of the present to

the past is full of great and important practical results. Upon them in a great measure depends that strong bond of loyal patriotism which makes a nation differ from a tribe; and hence it is, that in great and noble nations, this claim of the present or the past has ever been most jealously advanced. This was the secret of the passionate affection for the songs of Homer which possessed the soul of ancient Greece; this is why so many a German heart has turned with such a loving eagerness to the ancient Niebelungen Lied: this it is which makes the ancient title and the long-transmitted motto so precious in our eyes. This sends, at his earliest visit to the old country, the fierce republican citizen of young America to the Heralds' College, to discover amongst its records some traces of his earlier blood. Nor are these thoughts limited to small numbers and the higher classes. They reach down from the titled ranks of society and its few nobles to the multitude and the peasant. Every man in this our land feels that he is born a Briton—that all the early deeds of our fathers' greatness are his birth inheritance; even though he knows not all the separate parts of the story of the olden time, its spell is on him, its spirit stirs within him; he sees the halo and the glory, though he cannot mark the burning outline of the full-orbed sun. With him the past is present as an instinct, because it abides with others as a history. And this sense of high national descent is of the utmost practical importance. It excites all to venture upon noble deeds, it will not endure the entrance of poltroonery or baseness. *Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna* is, both in peace and war, the spirit of its secret breathing; —at Marathon and Thermopylæ—at Agincourt and Trafalgar—it acts alike. "Thy country expects it of thee" is its secret whisper—"Thou art the child of brave men—thou art one of a people who have never feared, never yielded, who have planted the foot and said, Kill me if thou canst, but be a slave I will not." Out of the misty veil of years dimly visible, there look forth on such an one hero-faces beaming approbation and inspiring strength —come what danger there may, he is a match for it.

> Let it be who it is, for Romans now
> Have thews and limbs like to their ancestors.

And so is it also in more peaceful times. The record of the past is the bond of the present—one language, one faith, one history, one ancient birth-place, one common, mysterious, unsearched, original—these are the strong sinews which hold together, in a living unity, the many separate articulations jointed to each other to form a people and a nation. And in such an age as this, any pursuit which tends to strengthen these ties, cannot surely be without its practical importance. But there is more than a security for love of country in this living on of the past into the present; for, without an accurate knowledge of the past, all attempts to improve and raise the present, must be, to a great degree, shallow and empirical. Whether we know it or not, the past and present are indeed thus linked together. We are the present phase of that great past which our forefathers were; it lives in us.

There, in seed, and bud, there, in fore-act and beginning, are our virtues and our vices—there are the promises of which we are the fulfilment or the falsifying;—then were drawn in honourable faith those bills on coming time which we are in such peril of dishonouring. In our institutions, in our manners, in our language, that old past is still with us. And if we would mend the present around us, we must see from what its errors and defects have arisen; we must know our fathers' lives and their habits of thought, to understand their plan, and without this knowledge we cannot carry on their counsels, or perfect meetly what they have well begun; or supply by our long experience whatever of weakness or confusion crept through human infirmity into their strong schemes; or take up, before it be too late, any threads which they have suffered carelessly, or unawares, to slip. And this knowledge cannot possibly be too observant and particular; without such particularity and closeness, we shall act like children, turning hoarded diamonds into counters for their play, or like the degenerate Chinese, handling with blank stupidity the philosophical machinery their fathers framed for cunning use. The want of this knowledge makes men innovators who would be improvers, and turns into destroyers those who would restore. So that they who are most apt to remind us of the undoubted truth that "the old age and length of days of the world should be accounted antiquity; and ought to be attributed to our own times, not to the youth of the world which it enjoyed amongst the ancients: for that age, though, with respect to us, ancient and greater, yet with regard to the world was new and less;" —they who most enforce this truth upon us, have the most need to pay to these before us their due regard; for their own claim to be the true ancients is that they have succeeded to the wisdom which has gone before them; their own hope of overlooking common barriers comes from this, that they are mounted upon other men's shoulders, and have a higher range of view —but to put forward that claim with truth, they must at least be on those shoulders; they must have entered into other men's experience. In truth, these two, the Past and the Future, are correlatives each to the other—and, as we may see plainly marked in infancy, no man has a future unless he have a past. Infancy and early childhood hath no past, and it hath also no future. To its unformed eye and untaught power of judgment, all is present time; it must get to itself a past, and in getting that it opens to itself a future; and so, more or less, it must be with all men. It is on the mouldering monuments of earlier days that we learn to decypher the mystic characters in which alone the lay of the future is written for our searching out. So important for a reasonable patriotism, so essential to an instinctive love of country, and so truly the foundation of all rational improvement and renewal, is that full and accurate acquaintance with earlier times, of which it is indeed our great object to study and preserve the records.

Yet with these high aims before us, our pursuits have formed, as I have said, a favourite butt for the ridicule and banter of the witty, whilst they

have often laboured under still graver suspicions in minds of deeper thought. It will, I think, be well for us to make some search into the secret causes to which such treatment may be traced; and that, more in the way of caution for ourselves, than of defence against reproaches thrown on us either by the jibes or arguments of others; for these will best be answered by our guarding carefully against those abuses from which they indeed derive their only force.

The great and leading abuse then against which we must guard, is confounding the real life of earlier times, which is our true study, with the accidental forms of outward circumstance, wherein, from time to time, it has clothed itself. It is this first which has exposed the antiquary to the jests and pleasant onslaughts of the witty. There have been, doubtless, many bearing our appellation who have grown at last to doat upon the old form or circumstance, merely from its age;—to whom the dust which gathers round antiquity is precious for itself, and not because it fences in and veils facts indicative of life. That such a spirit is a poor contracted thing we all of us can see; that its harmless, busy, pointless energy, its minute scraping blinking observation, and its gaping uncritical credulity, are natural provocatives of ridicule and sharp contempt, who does not instantly perceive? Against this first error, then, let our watchful attention be carefully directed. Often let us remind ourselves that we want not, with the dilettante, or the unmeaning specimen collector, to possess the mere cloths and wrappings of some ancient mummy, but desire only, by unwinding all its folds, to find out the mysterious secrets of the life in death which lies concealed beneath them. Thus one great lesson will be for ourselves. For others, it will be enough to say, that whilst our subjects afford, it may be, especial food to this petty temper, yet that they assuredly are not its cause. The disease is not in the study; the sickness does but find room to spend itself in its abuse. This solemn trifler might have taken some other turn, but he would have been equally a trifler still. His disease would have broken forth with symptoms slightly varied, but it would have been essentially the same disease. He would still have followed dead conceits. Servile he must have been, whether he wore this livery or that. He who now curiously gathers up the rust of mouldering coins might otherwise, perhaps, have played the book-worm part of an empty pedant, and eaten his useless way through the wasted wisdom of countless folios.

So much, then, for the cause of those jests which have been rained thick upon the character of antiquaries. And now, to turn to the graver accusation, that our pursuits lead us to embalm ancient errors, and cling to by-gone superstitions.

That this charge, as well as the former, points to a real evil, it would be useless to deny. The full progress of our race has been perpetually clogged by a doating love for old formalities; and even where the living current of improvement has been strong enough to bear down such opposition, it has

still been broken into falls and rapids by the narrow banks and multiplied resistances which have thus bridled and chafed its course. So it has been in literature and art, in physics and politics, in morals and religion. The art of painting has ere now had to fight its way, through the sturdy opposition of those who believed that all would be lost, if the conventional formalities and rigid outlines of the masters of the schools were superseded by that closer following of Nature, which is the highest art. There have been those, who would have frozen up into the ice-crust of the past, the genial flow of language, who could not perceive, that, as the medium representing and expressing thought, it should even, as thought became richer and more varied, become itself more rich and various; that, as it always measures the highest flood-mark of a people's highest intellect, it, too, should rise ever to a higher level, so long as they have intellectual life amongst them. All this these lovers of the past could not perceive, and thus would fix it as they find it; denying it all right of increase, and condemning it to perpetual barrenness, even in its true season of growth and self-development. In physics there have been philosophers who would not follow Nature's plainest leading, because the measures of their fathers' wisdom had not reached up to the discoveries she meant for them; and in states, ere now, the belief, that a nation's living power and greatness was bound absolutely up with the ancient forms of its visible polity, has prevented for long years the natural progress of improvement, and, at last, thrown all into confusion by bringing on the crisis of a revolution, and violently rending the existing from the former generations. And, as in these, so, above all, in the highest subject of religious faith, has this evil wrought.

In every age truth has had its struggle to maintain, and its great work to do, with those amongst whom its leaven-like presence has been cast. The external shape and fashion of the body spiritual has been the resulting issue of that struggle and that work. In it may be seen the great results of the mighty energy of truth—in it the effect of the corruption and resistance of the subject-matter upon which it wrought. Thus, through all the ages of faith, as they have rolled along, has there ever been left behind in every Christian land, in custom, institution, and observance, a fixed abiding record of the struggle it was passing through. Hence, also, it has followed, that they who have looked back into the past with an undiscriminating love have been ready to re-produce the evil of the past, by clinging to those forms, which were, in fact, the mingled progeny of truth and falsehood—of darkness and of light; but to which, now that the spirit which once wrought in them has left them, we cannot again go back, except as mere delusions and incumbrances of truth. Yet, for such a line of conduct there have not been wanting advocates, who have claimed fellowship with us; and hence the charge of favouring the revival of extinct superstitions, which has been brought against the archæologist. But, whilst we admit the greatness of

the evil, we cannot allow its parentage to be thus fixed upon ourselves. Rather, we declare at once, that, specious as is the resemblance of these so-called lovers of antiquity to us, they do, in truth, deny our fundamental principles of action. For we maintain, that there was a life in the past, as there is now in the present; that these are linked closely to each other, and that, to those who are partakers of the present, no study can be fuller both of interest and instruction, than that which reproduces for them the same living principle in that its earlier working. But these false claimers of our colours do, indeed, deny all such faith, both in the present and the past. They deny all faith in any present life; for they would teach us to distrust, if not to disavow, its present working. They point to the greatness, the liberality, the nobleness, of former times, and they say—"Go back to the *forms* of those times, and you, too, will share that nobleness." They have no faith in there being now amongst ourselves, if we will yield ourselves to its quickening and ennobling flow, the very same informing spirit which wrought great things in those whom it of old pervaded. And thus they would make us absolutely unreal. Instead of using the past to chasten and to strengthen our own powers in their proper and independent working, these teachers would have us adopt wholesale what did belong to others, and does not belong to us.

Neither, indeed, is there in this spirit any truer faith in the old life than in that of the present; for, instead of tracing to the vigorous action of the living principle within that visible devotion,—that nobleness of aim,—those generous gifts, and more generous self-sacrifices, the memory of which we all admire,—this spirit would trace them to those mere external forms, which clothed, and often marred, the inner acting of the principle which gave them birth. It might just as wisely attribute childhood's sunny gaiety of spirit to the peculiar custom of its dress, or bid the old man hope to fill with it his withered breast, by wearing, antic-like, the cast-off garments of his opening boyhood.

This is, alike, the spirit of the pedant purist, of the dim-eyed natural philosopher, of the bigot statesman, and of the superstitious reverer of antiquated forms. Through their dulness and faithlessness it is that antiquity becomes dishonoured; that the honest indignation of men, who will not thus be mocked by unreality, or defeated, in their efforts to carry out the life they feel within themselves, by the dead weight of encumbering forms, rises up in wrath, and sweeps away at once the puny trifles and the hallowed relics of the ancient time, which they turned into a thing abominable, when they fashioned it to be an idol for their own low-minded worship.

How unlike this spirit was that old time of which it fondly babbles. Could our spells raise up before us one of those true living men,—one who was carrying on the stream of a nation's greatness;—one who was developing its intellectual resources;—one who was following nature into her

secret cells, and winning from her the revelation of her secret laws ;—or, more than all, one in whom the spiritual life was strong and vigorous, and who, as some burning sun, was shedding light and warmth and health around him ;—and could we ask such an one whether, indeed, in this outward and material circumstance, through which his own spiritual being was acting, was the true spring of the greatness and the goodness round him,—what infinite compassion would he feel for the small conception, that would degrade the grand *idea* of the inner life of truth and spirit into the merest outside shell, which was so often its maimed and incomplete performance.

After this spirit let us strive, in all our researches into ancient times,—after a spirit strong in the true strength of faith, with courage enough to look at all, with whatever clearness of eye and power of judgment may be given to us ; sure that in that old time we shall find the traces of a living spirit, from which came all that was indeed great and noble ; sure that we shall find, also, the small, and the straitened, and the unworthy, hard beside that old nobleness, yea, and grappling with it ; sure that, then, as ever, for man there sit together a death and life casting their dice for him and his ; and, therefore, not fearing to say to each thing which meets us, " Art thou of death and corruption, or art thou of life and truth ? If thou art of death, then will I for me and mine eschew thee, and forbid thy entrance ; and if thou art of life, then I will, by living, strive to have thee or that which represents thee, and which for me now may be what thou wast of old to those my fathers." Instances of the working of this will occur unsuggested to most of us ; but, to take one, by way of example, from a subject more or less familiar to us all, let us seek a single instance of the difference between a careful search into antiquity, and a blind adoption of its reliques, from the building and adorning of our churches. In them we may love to study and protect from violence all the various and minute details of earlier times ; we may discover, with a lively interest, the ancient hagioscope, through which the ill-placed spectator took his post in a worship which consisted mainly in gazing upon the vicarious decorations of a priestly class : we may admire the intersecting aisles, which suited a ceremonial made up in great measure of pompous processions, and litanies wherein external significance was prized more highly than the secret sigh of the broken heart ; we may see and comprehend the lengthened chancels, with the marvellous beauty of their richly sculptured screens, which shut in the privileged performers of religion, and shut out the uninitiated laic ;—all this we may love to trace, first, as tending, by its visible beauty, by its mastery of outward form, to purify and elevate our own sense of beauty ; and then, secondly, as reproducing vividly before us the days of old, with its wild mixture of true faith and grovelling superstition. But we need not, therefore, have the faintest wish to reproduce amongst ourselves a mere copy of the outward form we yet would fain preserve : we need not have the slightest participation in the dreamy unreality, which would pretend, that by restoring the external instruments

through which that old spirit wrought, and which form the mingled record of the old struggle between the noble and the base, we could call into activity higher parts, or regain our fathers' truth, without the error with which it was intermingled, and without putting into peril all the truth we have, wherewith to struggle against our own infirmity.

Here, then, we take our stand. Into that old Past we love to look, because in it was life ; into it we dare to look, because that life is now in us—and that same gift we do believe we may pass to those beyond us. We, too, may and shall be ancients, and matter for history. Let us yield ourselves with what freedom we may to the working of the power within us, and our deeds will harmonize with those wrought by the same power, through the noble spirits who have been before us. Let us only use them as examples and incentives, and not feebly and blindly copy them as models. Let us visit the scenes of their departed greatness, not to array ourselves idly out in their worn-out customs, but that, having ears to gather up the whispers of their oracular advices, we may, by our own skill in art, by boldness in execution, fashion for ourselves the outward circumstances we need.

The Dean of Winchester said that he would not have presumed to address the meeting at that early period, surrounded as he was by so many possessed of greater talents, had he not been called upon to do so by the very kind manner in which the noble Marquis had spoken of the exertions of the clergy. Among the many duties of the Christian Pastor, there was none more important than that of using his utmost exertions to promote social intercourse between all ranks and degrees of men. Feeling strongly the advantage and necessity of such an institution as the Archæological Association, what could they, as clergymen, do less than open their gates and their hearts to receive such an assemblage as that, with which he had now the honour to be associated? This was a proud day for the ancient city of Winchester, to receive within its walls so honourable and respectable a body, eminent not only for their rank and talent, but above all for their moral worth. A deep debt of gratitude was due to those gentlemen who had left their comfortable homes, and travelled a long distance, to impart from their stores of knowledge, information calculated to enlighten others less instructed than themselves. In addition to the advantages which the city would derive by the presence of such a numerous assemblage, he might observe, that, while by means of such meetings as these, a greater attachment to hereditary rank and institutions was created—a wider field was at the same time thrown open for the exertion of talent, whereby men of humble grade were raised up to social importance. It was gratifying to see the names of so many young men enlisting themselves under the banners of the Society, determined to find employment in their hours of recreation. With respect to the excellent and eloquent discourse which they had just heard from the Dean of Westminster, he would say, it was so good in composition, and so strong in argument, that seldom was a discourse of so much

importance offered to the public. To that gentleman he returned his thanks for the exertion of his superior talents, and he was sure all would heartily concur in the proposition. He trusted that the Society would long continue to flourish under the direction of the noble Marquis—that it would remain established on so firm a basis, as to be beyond the reach of malice or misrepresentation.

The Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, seconded the motion; he expressed his diffidence in appearing before the meeting so prominently, when so many better qualified than himself were present. But he did rejoice to say how much he was filled with delight, at the noble sentiments, the noble language, the power worthy of the greatest poets, with which the Dean of Westminster had given utterance to their feelings. They did love Antiquity, and that, and every other of the noble thoughts, they had just heard so eloquently expressed, must now live and abide with them. Perhaps he might be allowed to say that he was no unfit representative of the amateurs in Architecture; he was a student of considerable standing: when a schoolboy, he had imbibed it with his very grammar, and the little work of Rickman, which he then happened to possess, was always in his pocket. It became the Grammar and Dictionary of a new language to him. To that time, now above twenty years ago, he had often looked back with pleasure, and many others present could, perhaps, ascribe their knowledge to the same source. The study of Architecture was not a mere amusement, but a most profound and valuable mental culture. To those who have pursued this study, buildings presented a meaning and a purpose which, though others might feel, they could not understand. He would not detain the meeting further, and would only express again the extreme gratification he felt in seconding the vote of thanks to the Dean of Westminster, for the eloquent address in which he had explained the purpose for which they ought to be, and he had no doubt were, met together.

The President, in putting the vote, could not but express the pleasure he felt in seeing those who had done for Germany and Italy, what Rickman had done for England, present to take part in these proceedings. He alluded to Dr. Whewell and Professor Willis.

The vote was then put and carried.

Lord Ashburton proposed a vote of thanks to the noble President, in which he was sure he would be joined most cordially by the whole county of Hampshire. The noble Marquis had hastened, while on his travels abroad, at considerable personal inconvenience, to meet them, and to add the weight of his dignity, as President of the Royal Society, to the proceedings of the present Meeting.

The Warden of New College, in seconding the motion, said that he felt it a great privilege and honour, to be allowed to return his thanks and those of the Meeting to the noble Marquis, for the ability with which he had officiated as Chairman that day. As he had the

honour to hold the office of Warden in the elder of William of Wykeham's Colleges, he might be permitted to express his great satisfaction in seeing so large a body of persons interesting themselves in the study of that science for which that great man was so eminently distinguished. He felt it alike a pleasure and a duty to be present, and should listen with every attention to the remarks of the Archæologist on scenes so familiar to him; and, although he could not contribute information on that particular subject in which William of Wykeham so much excelled, he should look hereafter with more intelligent eyes on his buildings, and owe a large debt of gratitude to those whose researches would enable him to discover some new proof of the genius of their noble founder.

The Master of University College, after apologizing for intruding on the Meeting, said that having once held the office of President of the Oxford Society for promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, and still holding that of one of its Vice-Presidents, he might be allowed to express the great satisfaction that all the Members of that Society would feel in the assistance rendered at the present Meeting towards the full development of the principles of Architecture. It was highly gratifying to him to see the vast improvement that had taken place during the last few years in the style of Ecclesiastical Architecture; not that professional knowledge of the science was previously wanting, but rather taste to appreciate the talents of those who were fully competent to erect good buildings. It was gratifying to him to think, that, to the small Society commenced in the University of Oxford—from which so many others had sprung, and of which the present Meeting might be considered as the full development—was owing, to a great extent, the general improvement that had taken place. However great he might feel the desire to enter fully upon Architecture, he felt that he could not do justice to the subject; he must, however, observe that buildings should not be studied for the purpose of making mere servile imitations, but in order that their structure might be modified for purposes more in unity with present times. There was a higher object than the mere study of ancient buildings, for the sake of admirable principles evinced in the harmony of their proportions, there should be respect had for sacred things, and a higher appreciation of those great truths which the art was calculated to support. In the research after Ecclesiastical Antiquities, they must not only revere sacred things and sacred places, but endeavour to promote a noble rivalry with a bygone age, in favour of a purer faith, and shew their gratitude to Him, from whom they received all, wherewith they were enabled to promote His glory. The recent revival of Gothic Architecture in this country had been without parallel, and he rejoiced to see the noble efforts made by individuals in erecting buildings at their own expense—not with a niggardly feeling, by giving merely that, which they could spare out of their own superfluity, but by contributing with a liberal hand, in order to make the house of God worthy of the holy object for which it was designed.

The vote of thanks to the noble President was carried unanimously.

The Marquis of Northampton expressed his acknowledgments for the kind feeling displayed towards him by the Meeting, and to the noble lord for the manner in which he had introduced his name. It was true that he had come from a distant part of Europe, on purpose to be present on this occasion; but, though he had somewhat shortened his stay on the continent, he did not feel that he had made any great sacrifice of pleasure. Whatever churches he might have seen in Germany, he could assert that none was more worthy his attention than the noble cathedral at Winchester; and it was worth while to come from any part of Europe to hear the noble address delivered by the Dean of Westminster. A great deal had been said about Architecture; but let it not be supposed that their pursuits were confined to Architecture alone, or that any thing interesting to the Archæologist was foreign to their purpose. Antiquities of every kind were to be their study. The noble President, after noticing the auspicious commencement of the meeting, announced the different arrangements for the day, and the company then separated.

In the afternoon, visits were made by numerous parties of the members to the church of St. Cross, and its architectural features were examined, under the superintendence of the Master of Trinity, and Mr. Blore, accompanied by Mr. Colson, and Mr. J. H. Parker.

In the evening a General Meeting was held at the St. John's Rooms, President, the Marquis of Northampton. The Rev. John Bathurst Deane read a discourse on the early usages of Druidical worship, illustrated by interesting views, plans, and models of primeval monuments and hypæthral temples; including a very striking representation of the Temple of Carnac, executed under Mr. Deane's direction, on a large scale. Several of the models had been sent for exhibition from the Institute of Bath, by the kind favour of J. H. Markland, Esq.

The Rev. J. L. Petit, Secretary of the Lichfield Architectural Society, read a Paper on Romsey Abbey Church, illustrated by numerous drawings.

Edward A. Freeman, Esq., Secretary of the Oxford Architectural Society, also read an Essay on the Architectural peculiarities of St. Cross, illustrated by his own pen-and-ink sketches, and drawings by Mr. P. H. De la Motte.

Wednesday, September 10.

In the morning a meeting of the Architectural Section took place in the St. John's Rooms, President, the Marquis of Northampton. The Rev. Professor Willis delivered a lecture on the Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral, illustrated by diagrams and drawings.

Professor Cockerell, R.A., then read a Paper on the Architectural genius of William of Wykeham, as displayed in his works generally, and particularly in Winchester College, and New College, Oxford, illustrated by ground plans and sections.

In the afternoon the President and many of the members visited the College, accompanied by Professor Cockerell, who pointed out the beauties and peculiarities of William of Wykeham's style of architecture; a less numerous party also visited Wolvesey Castle. At four o'clock Professor Willis accompanied a large party to the Cathedral, and illustrated his lecture, delivered in the morning, by directing attention to various parts of that building, pointing out the grounds of his deductions, and shewing the method of his researches, in a manner most gratifying to those who accompanied him.

In the evening the Dean entertained all the members and visitors attending the Meeting, at the Deanery, with his wonted kindness and hospitality. By his permission a Museum of antiquities and works of art had been formed in the gallery at the Deanery, and it was thrown open to his visitors on this occasion. Of the precious and interesting objects exhibited, by the kind liberality of their owners, a concise catalogue will be found appended to this Report.

Thursday, September 11.

In the morning a meeting of the Historical Section took place in the Nisi-Prius Court, at the County Hall. The President, H. Hallam, Esq., delivered a brief address, pointing out the province of the Section, and distinguishing it from those of the other two Sections of the Society. Mr. Hallam observed that there were some defects which belonged to the English Historical school, but that its distinctive character was remarkable accuracy, arising from the patient and business-like habits of the people, producing a more just appreciation of evidence than is usual among our continental neighbours. He hoped that in the progress of the Society a more enlarged view would be taken of the objects of this study.

The following Papers were then read:—

On the ancient Palace at Winchester, and Arthur's Round Table, by Edward Smirke, Esq., shewing that the present County Hall, in which this Section was then holding its Meeting, had been the Hall of that Palace.

On Anglosaxon names, surnames, and nicnames, by J. M. Kemble, Esq.

After which T. Hudson Turner, Esq. gave a short account of the ancient Fair of St. Giles, in the city of Winchester.

The Section of Early and Mediæval Antiquities met in the Crown Court, at the County Hall. President, W. R. Hamilton, Esq., V. P. Soc. Ant.

The Dean of Hereford gave an account of Roman remains recently discovered at Kenchester, or Magna Castra, near Hereford.

E. P. Shirley, Esq., M.P., gave a description of some Irish Antiquities discovered in a Crannoge, or wooden house, on an artificial island in the

lake Monalty, in the county of Monaghan, which were exhibited in the Museum at the Deanery. This communication has subsequently appeared in the Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 44.

Albert Way, Esq., read a letter from Sir S. R. Meyrick explanatory of a curious missile weapon, which had been described by Mr. Shirley, found in the lake Monalty.

The following Papers were then read :—

On Ancient British, Romano-British, and Roman Sepulchral Remains, discovered in the neighbourhood of Rugby, in Warwickshire; by M. H. Bloxam, Esq. A large collection of weapons, ornaments, pottery, and other remains, discovered in burial places along the line of the Watling-street, were exhibited to the Meeting.

On some Encaustic Pavements at Haccombe Church in Devonshire, and Exeter Cathedral, by the Lord Alwyne Compton.

On Pavements of Decorative Tiles, formerly existing in Jervaulx Abbey, Yorkshire, by the Rev. John Ward, illustrated by a remarkable exhibition of coloured drawings, representing the principal designs of that unique pavement. These drawings, executed by Mr. Ward from originals in the possession of the Marquis of Ailesbury, covered a large space on the floor of the Great Hall, adjoining to which the County Courts are situated.

Dissertation on Coronals of Roses, as badges of honour, and on the Golden Rose, annually blessed by the Pope ; by W. J. Thoms, Esq.

The President and a large party, on quitting the County Hall, inspected the sallyport and subterranean works which had been opened expressly for the occasion, and lighted up by the kindness of Mr. Brown, the proprietor. They consisted of a portion of the passage of descent from the keep, or chief portion of the stronghold above, which gave access to a sort of vestibule or small chamber, whence proceeded passages of descent to the exterior moat, and to the interior moat towards the city : by this last the party entered on this occasion. The arrangements for strong doors, bars, &c. appeared in the vestibule closing off these passages; the masonry is very excellent ; the vaulting constructed with a slightly pointed arch : the whole is in the style of the early part of the thirteenth century. There is a tradition of a subterranean passage hence to the Cathedral.

In the middle of the day an excursion to Romsey Abbey Church took place, and the striking features of its curious architecture were pointed out by the Rev. J. L. Petit, Mr. Cockerell, and Mr. Ferrey. On this occasion, several Members, desirous of shewing the interest which they felt in the progress of the restoration of that noble fabric, offered towards the work the following Contributions.

	£	s.	d.
The Marquis of Northampton	5	0	0
Lord Alwyne Compton	1	0	0
The Very Rev. the Dean of Ely	1	0	0
Rev. G. M. Nelson	1	0	0
Rev. A. Hussey	1	0	0
A. J. B. Hope, Esq., M.P.	5	0	0
Rev. C. Awdry	1	0	0
Albert Way, Esq.	5	0	0
W. W. Bulpett, Esq.	1	0	0
Evelyn P. Shirley, Esq., M.P.	1	0	0
Rev. G. H. Bowers	1	0	0
Rev. Henry Addington	1	0	0
Rev. John Ward	1	0	0
Rev. C. W. Lukis	1	0	0
Rev. C. H. Hartshorne	1	0	0
Lewis H. Petit, Esq.	2	10	0
Robert Southey Hill, Esq.	1	0	0
Miss Mackenzie	1	1	0
R. E. E. Warburton, Esq.	1	0	0
J. Clarke Jervoise, Esq.	1	0	0
Beckford Bevan, Esq.	1	1	0
Rev. W. H. Gunner	1	0	0
P. H. De la Motte, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. J. L. Petit	2	10	0
Frederick Pearson, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. Edward Hill	1	0	0
Rev. W. Staunton	1	0	0
Rev. Dr. Plumptre	1	0	0
E. A. Freeman, Esq.	1	0	0
John Murray, Esq.	2	0	0
Rev. Robert Willis	1	0	0
Rev. C. W. Bingham	0	10	0
Rev. J. J. Smith	0	10	0
John Noble, Esq.	0	10	0
Rev. Dr. Todd	1	0	0
Rev. C. Gaunt	0	10	0
C. F. Barnwell, Esq.	1	0	0
Richard C. Hussey, Esq.	0	10	0
Small sums	0	10	0
R. W. Blencowe, Esq.	1	0	0
C. R. Cockerell, Esq.	0	10	0
C. J. Palmer, Esq.	0	10	0
Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart.	2	0	0
William Burge, Esq.	1	0	0
Brownlow Poulter, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. Dr. Bliss	2	2	0
J. H. Markland, Esq.	2	2	0
Rev. W. Dyke	1	1	0
Edward Hawkins, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. S. R. Maitland	1	0	0

In the evening a public dinner took place at the St. John's Rooms. The chair was taken by the Marquis of Northampton; upwards of 200 Members being present.

Friday, Sept. 12.

On this morning a large body of the Members visited Porchester Castle; every facility for its examination was afforded by the kind courtesy of the proprietor, Thomas Thistlethwayte, Esq., of Southwick Park. During the inspection of the outer walls of the Castle Mr. Hartshorne pointed out the portions which he supposed to belong to the original Roman work, and explained the mode of structure, as compared with other similar remains in our island. Some of the Members then proceeded to visit the curious Church of Boarhunt, and Tichfield Manor-House.

Another party visited Southampton, Netley Abbey, and the interesting remains of Beaulieu Abbey, in the New Forest, returning by the Church at Marchwood recently built from designs by Mr. Derick. At Southampton, Mr. Parker called their attention to the Church of St. Michael, with its Norman tower-arches, and the rich font, of the latter part of the twelfth century; at Holyrood Church, to the nave-arches of the fourteenth century, and Chancel of the fifteenth, with some good stalls; the ancient hospital called "God's House," a curious example of an alms-house of the early part of the thirteenth century: the town walls, with other arches of several different forms, and some remains of other buildings of the twelfth century. At Beaulieu, Mr. J. G. Nichols pointed out the peculiarities of the remarkable Decorative tiles; and the beautiful pulpit of the thirteenth century attracted much attention. Many persons, who did not take part in

these excursions, visited the Churches in Winchester and the neighbourhood. A manual of useful notes for the direction of such researches, prepared by the Secretaries of the Architectural Section, after a careful survey of the Churches of the district, by Mr. J. H. Parker, had been distributed to the Members at the commencement of the Meeting[a].

During the day a very curious series of drawings of antiquities found in Ireland, and preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, was exhibited, by the kind permission of the Council of the Academy, in the Museum at the Deanery.

In the evening a meeting took place in the St. John's Rooms, President, the Marquis of Northampton, when a full account of the structure and history of Porchester Castle was read by the Rev. Charles H. Hartshorne, illustrated by numerous drawings on a large scale, exhibiting sections of the walls of that and other buildings, especially in connexion with the peculiarities of Roman masonry.

Edmund Sharpe, Esq., then read an essay on the pointed arch, illustrated by drawings, and models of vaulting and groining.

The question of real interest to the antiquary, Mr. Sharpe observed, was not so much the *origin* of the pointed arch, as the cause of its first introduction in Christian architecture, and of its rapid and universal adoption; this cause he was disposed to look for, rather in some real advantage in point of *construction*, than in any supposed superiority in point of *decoration*. He referred to the theories of Dr. Young and Mr. Ware, and that of Mr. Essex and Mr. Saunders, as the only two of any importance which accounted for its use on this ground; and proceeded to call attention to a fact not hitherto noticed, that, in almost all the buildings of the Transitional period, in which pointed and circular arches were used together, the pointed arch was invariably used in the *arches of construction*, or those which constituted the frame-work of the building, whilst the circular arch was employed in the *arches of decoration*, or those with which walls were pierced or panelled. He adduced numerous instances of the prevalence of this rule, which obtained, as well on the Continent as in England, throughout the whole of that period, and drew the inference, that the builders of the twelfth century adopted this form as a measure of utility in those parts of a structure where strength was required, whilst their predilection for the earlier form induced them to retain it in all other parts, where the safety and stability of the building were not involved. He therefore was inclined to the opinion of Mr. Ware, who attributed its adoption to the superiority it was found to possess over the circular arch, in producing little or no lateral pressure, and in requiring much less abutment for its support, an advantage of great importance in the lofty buildings of the middle ages. He proceeded to

[a] An alphabetical list also of Parishes and Manors, in Hampshire, compared with the enumeration in Domesday Book, was drawn up by Mr. Henry Moody, and distributed by him to the Members.

classify the arches of construction in churches, and to trace the progress of the pointed arch from its first appearance in the vaulting arches, the arches of the crossing, and the pier-arches, to its general but tardy adoption in all parts of the building; and entered into a critical examination and comparison of the different kinds of vaulting made use of in the Romanesque and Transitional periods: he concluded his remarks by reference to seventy-eight churches of the latter period, in England, France, and Germany, in which the law that he had laid down had been followed. The lecture was illustrated by a series of engravings, comprising plans and views of several of the buildings referred to, as well as by large working drawings of the abbey church of Kirkstall, in Yorkshire, one of the most perfect existing buildings of the Transitional period; and the various forms of vaulting were exhibited by a set of models prepared for the occasion.

In the course of this paper, Mr. Sharpe explained some structural peculiarities of the church of St. Cross, and, after it was concluded, the President adverted to the church of St. Andrea, at Vercelli, in the north of Italy, recently visited by him, which might be considered as an example of the anomalous class of structures on which great light had been thrown by Mr. Sharpe's essay.

Mr. John Gough Nichols then read a communication relating to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and the secret history of an occurrence in his life, shortly before his union with the Queen Dowager of France, as illustrated by two curious letters preserved amongst the Cotton MSS.

Saturday, Sept. 13.

In the morning a meeting of the Historical Section was held in the Nisi Prius Court, at the County Hall. Sir John Boileau, Bart., presided, and announced with regret the unavoidable absence of Mr. C. Bailey, the Town-clerk, who had promised to read a paper on the domestic regulations of the city of Winchester, as recorded in documents preserved amongst the municipal archives.

The following papers were then read:—

Dissertation on the Parliament held at Acton Burnell, in Shropshire, in the reign of Edward I.; by the Rev. Charles H. Hartshorne.

An inedited account of the marriage of the Duke of Burgundy, with the Princess Margaret, sister of King Edward the Fourth, extracted from an original MS. in the Library at Middle Hill; by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. This curious document has been subsequently communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, and printed in the Archæologia, vol. xxxi. p. 326.

On the ancient Mint and Exchange, at Winchester, by Edward Hawkins, Esq. Mr. Weddell, of Berwick on Tweed, took occasion to offer some remarks on the importance of the Pipe Rolls, in all investigations connected with ancient Mints.

Charles Newton, Esq., then read a paper communicated by Sir Frederick

Madden, on the Common Seal and privileges of the men of Alverstoke. An original roll, in which allusion was made thereto, and an impression of the seal referred to in this paper, were exhibited at the same time.

A Meeting of the Section of Early and Mediæval Antiquities, was held in the Crown Court, at the County Hall, President, W. R. Hamilton, Esq., Vice-Pres. Soc. Ant. The following Papers were read:—

1. On the Seals of the Earls of Winchester. 2. On the Seals of Winchester city, and for the Recognizances of Debtors, in the reign of Edward II. 3. On the Seals for cloths, used by the King's aulnager; by John Gough Nichols, Esq.

Edward Hailstone, Esq., then read a Paper communicated by the Rev. John Gunn, on Roman remains discovered at Burgh, near Aylsham, and at Caistor, near Yarmouth, Norfolk: also, a Dissertation, by George Du Noyer, Esq., on the classification of bronze celts and arrow-heads.

The President read an abstract of a Paper by Sir F. Madden, relating to the monument of Sir R. Lyster, in the church of St. Michael's, Southampton, which had been erroneously called the memorial of the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. He also communicated a letter from the President of Trinity College, Oxford, expressing regret at being unavoidably absent, and communicating the following interesting sketch of the course of the Roman road from Winchester, by Old Sarum, to several important stations on the "Severn Sea;" which, as Dr. Ingram observed, had in great part been personally examined by himself, perhaps more than by any other investigator of such remains, at various intervals during the last fifty years.

"It is not very material to consider, from what point of the present city of Winchester the pursuit of the Roman road is to take its commencement, because all traces of the line must long since have vanished. But the eye must glance in a western direction, either from Bishop Edyngton's work at the end of the Cathedral, once a heathen temple, or from some point in Kingsgate street, towards the summit, on which the "King's House" stands; and then, diverging a little to the south, and crossing the modern road to Hursley, Romsey, &c., the line may be easily traced in the direction of King's Sombourne to Bossington, where it crosses the waters and meadows of the Test or Anton River. The latter name is important, because it is embodied in Andover, Abbot's Ann, Claus-Antum, or Claus-Entum, and in the modern name of the county itself. Not to be too minute in description, an investigator of the Roman mode of constructing roads may safely pursue the line from Bossington to Buckholt, sometimes written Buckle farm. The farm-house and other buildings stand precisely on the site of the road, for it may be followed by the eye across the arable land for a considerable distance on each side.

"Norman Court speaks for itself. It was in all probability here that the Norman Usurper held his court, when the delegates of the Saxon population

of the west assembled at Old Sarum; and the men of "Sarisberie," as they are called, proceeded to this place to offer homage to the Conqueror, and, in feudal phrase, according to the invaluable testimony of the Saxon Chronicler, "became his men." Passing along a finely wooded district, and ascending the ridge of East, and West, and Middle Winterslow, portions of the road are discernible every where, having frequently a foundation of massive flints. These however have been occasionally taken away to make or mend modern roads. Before we reach Old Sarum, the present road from Winchester to Salisbury must be crossed, and on the right hand is the camp of Constantius Chlorus, denominated on some old maps Chlorus' camp and Chlorus' ring; artificial enclosures of this sort being often called rings by the country people, whether circular or not.

"It would be tedious to enumerate all the roads and trackways, "herepaths," and "frith-herepaths," as they were denominated by the Saxon successors of the Romans, in connection with Old Sarum, the city of the Sun and the fortress of the Cæsars; the tract of country which lies to the westward of Winchester presents, in almost every direction, traces of occupation by the Prætorian cohorts, and Castrensian guards of the Roman colony. On the north-eastern confines of the county of Wilts a Roman foss way leads to Cirencester, and opens a communication by Gloucester with the Severn. Another crosses the plain, and descends in the direction of Bath and Bristol, between Bishop Edyngton's native village and the forest of Frome Selwood. Crossing the Bristol Channel, it is easy in imagination to unite the Silurian with the Belgic Venta, in other words Caer-Went with Winchester. But, to return—a Roman line of road, little examined till within our own memory, has been traced from Old Sarum to Uphill, on the Severn, over, or by the side of the Mendip Hills, near old Down Inn, commanding all the southern part of Somersetshire. Not far from Wilton, on this line, is Stapleford, VADUM STABULI; where was a station for the Roman cavalry at a place still called Overstreet, a little to the north of their summer camp, by Groveley Wood. From the latter point the road may be traced between Belbury and Wyley Beeches to Stockton—so called, apparently, by the Saxon settlers, because it had been one of the stock-towns of the Romans who preceded them. Traces of the square inclosures of Roman agriculture may still be seen there.

"These inclosures are called the "Old Tinings;" tining being the Saxon term for an inclosed piece of arable land. Such inclosures, being inconsistent with the spirit of the Saxon feudalists, who introduced the system of common fields, were afterwards merged in the downs and sheepwalks of the modern tenantry. And so they have generally continued to this day. It is worthy of notice, that this line of road, which passes along a well-known elevation of land called "Great Ridge," separating the vale of the Wyley from the vale of the Nadder, constitutes the boundary between several parishes for many miles, and in some instances divides one hundred

from another. Barrows are occasionally seen on each side of the line; and there is reason to believe that some were used for Christian interment, after the conversion of the natives, and before Churches were built and endowed as at present. There is one in a remarkable position, the well known Sherington Barrow. It is near the union of four parishes, East and West Codford, Sherington, and Stockton; and, from the appearance of four divisions or compartments visible in consequence of a recent section of it, there is reason to suspect that it was used when cremation was still practised by the half-converted natives of these four tythings or parishes. At Stockton a Church was built by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, the founder of St. Cross, in the reign of King Stephen, and charged with the payment of £5. annually to that Hospital. This sum, I am informed by the present Rector, is still paid, not only from this Rectory, but from several others in the patronage of the Bishops of Winchester. Whatever may be the origin of parishes, the division into hundreds, at all events, seems to have been instituted by the Romans, from the Cantons of Switzerland, to the Cantreds in the Isle of Anglesey. Tythings, consisting of ten families, probably gave rise to parishes. Where churches were built and endowed, the latter term, which is of ecclesiastical origin, was substituted for the Saxon appellation." The President then read a letter from William Roots, Esq., M.D., giving an account of Roman antiquities found in the bed of the Thames, near the town of Kingston.

Mr. Herbert Williams exhibited on this occasion a small brooch of gold, in the form of the letter A, thus inscribed on one side: ✠ IO FAS AMER E DOZ DE AMER.; on the obverse are five small gems, a sapphire, two rubies, two turquoises, and the letters AGLA. This relic was ploughed up near Devizes, in Wiltshire.

In the middle of the day a Meeting of the Architectural Section took place in the Nisi Prius Court, at the County Hall, J. H. MARKLAND, Esq., in the chair. The following Papers were read:—

A communication from the Mayor of Winchester respecting the proposed restoration of the King's Gate, and Church of St. Swithin, in that city.

An account of the Priory Church of Christchurch, Hants, by A. J. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P.

A notice of Stow Church, Lincolnshire, by the Rev. George Atkinson.

B. Ferrey, Esq., communicated Remarks on the Churches of St. Cross, Crondal, and Christchurch, illustrated by numerous drawings.

Notice of East Meon Church, Hants, illustrated by numerous interesting drawings; by Owen B. Carter, Esq.

An account of the Friary Church, at Reading, Berks, now the Town Bridewell, by John Billing, Esq.; illustrated by drawings. This communication has since been printed in the Archæological Journal, iii. 141.

On the superior purity of the English Gothic style, by Sir John Awdry.

Notices of Southwick Priory, by the Rev. William Gunner, extracted from the Leiger Books, in the possession of Mr. Thistlethwayte.

Mr. Parker made a few observations on the Norman house at Christchurch, which is perhaps the most perfect house of the twelfth century remaining in England; the walls are entire, although much concealed by ivy.

The Rev. W. H. Gunner gave an account of remains of Roman dwellings, discovered at various times in Winchester.

In the evening, a Meeting took place at the St. John's Rooms, President, the Marquis of Northampton. The following Papers were read:—

On the Distinctions of Styles in Architecture in general, and their names; communicated by the Master of Trinity College, and read by W. R. Hamilton, Esq.

Notice of the Painted Glass in the Cathedral at Winchester, by Charles Winston, Esq.

Notice of Records preserved in the Corporation Chest at Southampton, by W. S. Vaux, Esq.

At the close of the Proceedings of the evening the President read the following list of Papers communicated, and expressed regret that time had not sufficed for their being submitted in full to the Meeting.

1. Transcript of the inedited MS. History of Winchester Cathedral, written in Latin by a monk of Winchester in the fifteenth century; the original is preserved in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford; this interesting document was communicated by the Warden of New College.

2. Notices and Extracts from the Episcopal Registers of Winchester; by T. Hudson Turner, Esq.

3. Notices of the general History of Winchester, from the Saxon period to the close of the thirteenth century; by T. Hudson Turner, Esq.

4. Note on Royal Charters granted to the city of Winchester from the Conquest to the time of Edward I.; by T. Hudson Turner, Esq.

5. On the Minor Decorations of the Abbey of St. Alban's; by the Rev. Henry Addington, late Secretary of the Oxford Architectural Society.

6. On the Torc, Armilla, and Fibula; by Samuel Birch, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Antiquities, British Museum. The first portion of this paper has since been printed in the Archæological Journal, ii. 368, and iii. 27.

7. Notice of a remarkable chamber in the south of France, fitted with elaborately carved wainscot; a very interesting example of the florid domestic architecture of the sixteenth century; communicated by Sir John Boileau, Bart.

8. Some account of the Castillion family, formerly seated at Benham Valence, in Berkshire; by George Bowyer, Esq., D.C.L.

9. Extracts from the Return of the Commissioners of Hospitals, Colleges, Fraternities, &c., in the counties of Southampton and Berkshire; also Extracts from the Commissioners' return of Colleges, &c., made 2 Edw. VI.,

so far as they relate to the city of Winchester, from the Public Record Office; by Henry Cole, Esq., one of the Assistant Keepers of Records.

10. Copy of the Deed for building Helmingham Steeple, Suffolk, A.D. 1423; by David E. Davy, Esq.

11. On ancient modes of Trial by Ordeal; by William Sidney Gibson, Esq., F.S.A.

12. On the changes of Style observed in the Works of William of Wykeham; by the Rev. William Grey.

13. Particulars relative to the Parishes of Upham and Durley, extracted from the old Registers and Churchwardens' Accounts; communicated by the Rev. John Haygarth, Rector of Upham.

14. Account of the Church of Poynings, Sussex, and its decorations; by the Rev. Samuel Holland, D.D., Precentor of Chichester; communicated through the Very Rev. the Dean of Winchester.

15. Notice of the richly carved roof of Cilcain Church, Flintshire, supposed to have been brought from Basingwerk Abbey; by the Very Rev. C. S. Luxmoore, Dean of St. Asaph.

16. Notes on Hyde Abbey, and some ancient relics there discovered; by Miss Melissa Mackenzie.

17. On Polychrome Painting; by James Laird Patterson, Esq., Treasurer of the Oxford Architectural Society.

18. Notice of some elegantly designed specimens of Decorative pavement-tiles, of French fabrication, discovered at Keymer, in Sussex; by the Rev. Edward Turner, communicated through the Rev. Charles Gaunt.

Monday, Sept. 15.

At half past eleven o'clock a General Meeting of the Subscribing Members took place in the St. John's Rooms, when the chair was taken by the Marquis of Northampton.

The Treasurer, the Rev. S. R. Maitland, at the request of the President, submitted to the Meeting a statement of the Accounts. It appeared that the amount in the hands of Messrs. Cockburns & Co. on September 8th, was £369. 6s. 6d.; besides which there had been received up to, and including Sept. 13, 1845, £160. 2s. The amount of expenditure, up to the 8th instant, had been £187. 17s. 3d. One of the Honorary Secretaries then read a list of donations, contributed chiefly towards defraying the expenses of the Annual Meeting[b].

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
[a] The Marquis of Northampton	5	0	0	Rev. W. Dyke	1	0	0
The Lord Ashburton	10	0	0	Rev. Edward Burney	1	1	0
Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.	5	0	0	Albert Way, Esq.	5	0	0
Sir John Boileau, Bart.	5	0	0	Edward Hawkins, Esq.	2	0	0
The Hon. Richard Watson	5	0	0	William Roots, Esq., M.D.	1	0	0
Rev. Charles H. Hartshorne	4	0	0	Matthew Dawes, Esq., Westbrook, Bolton	2	0	0
Rev. G. M. Nelson	5	0	0				

Albert Way, Esq., one of the Honorary Secretaries, then read the following report:—

I have the honour to report to the Meeting on the present occasion several circumstances which may justly be accounted as of a very encouraging nature as connected with the future prospects of this Society. It must be highly interesting to all persons who desire its welfare and permanent establishment, to observe the friendly sympathy and disposition to co-operate in the endeavours shewn at the present time, not only by numerous distinguished individuals, but also by public bodies in various parts of the kingdom instituted for purposes similar to our own. I have to announce amongst the donations received for the library of the Society a work of no ordinary interest, presented by his Excellency the Chevalier Bunsen, being his recently published *Dissertation on the Basilicas of Christian Rome, and their connexion with the Theory and History of Church Architecture.*

The Irish Archæological Society, by a vote of Council, have presented a series of their valuable Publications on subjects connected with the ancient History of Ireland, which are this day laid before you by their Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Todd, Honorary Member of your Central Committee. That Gentleman, in his official capacity as a Member of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, has also been charged to submit, for the inspection of the present Meeting, the collection of drawings, which so admirably represent the weapons and implements of the early races by which Ireland was occupied. This exhibition, forming an illustrated catalogue of the Dublin museum, supplies a series of examples, highly valuable as evidences for the purpose of comparison with the few scattered remains of the same period found in our own island, and of essential service for the arrangement of a class of objects hitherto very imperfectly studied by English Antiquaries. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland had shewn, with singular liberality, their desire to promote our cause, by the vote of their Council to send the valuable antiquities preserved in their Museum for exhibition at this Meeting. We must deeply regret that a domestic calamity has deprived us of the gratification of seeing amongst us this day their Secretary, Mr. Turnbull, one of your local representatives at Edinburgh, to whom this valuable charge had been entrusted. The Principality has likewise shewn itself not less zealous in behalf of our Society, and the friendly feeling of the Royal Institution of South Wales induced that body to forward to Winchester a valuable contribution to the rich stores which have been exhibited. They have been despatched by their honorary librarian, Mr. George Grant Francis, your local Secretary for Glamorganshire, whose unavoidable absence from this Meeting is much to be regretted. I cannot omit on this occasion to invite the attention of Members to the very great benefit which would accrue from the formation of a library at the apartments in London, composed chiefly of modern Archæological publications, which I feel assured would greatly facilitate the researches of

many of the Members. I have to report that the number of Subscribing Members amounts at the present time to several hundreds; and, whilst I cannot but congratulate the Society on this rapid increase of its supporters, I must hope that we shall, by a still greater augmentation of our body, gain extended means of carrying into effect that system of correspondence and research which is amongst the chief objects of our institution. It must be borne in mind that with the present moderate rate of annual contribution, it will be difficult to carry our intentions into effect unless aided by the co-operation of a very numerous body of subscribers. I cannot omit, at the close of this most gratifying meeting of the Society, to call attention to the encouraging fact that so large a proportion of the members who pledged themselves to attend on this occasion, amounting to upwards of 150, many of whom were engaged in important professional and official duties, should have been enabled to realize their promise of being present, and taking part in the proceedings here. More than two-thirds of that number have given their active and cordial co-operation on this occasion. The causes which have unavoidably prevented some of our warmest friends from joining us at the present time have been already announced, and I will, by permission, lay before you several communications which have been subsequently received. I cannot conclude, without offering my hearty congratulation on the highly favourable auspices under which this Meeting has so happily been conducted, and the hopeful promise which is afforded by the character of its proceedings.

The PRESIDENT expressed on the part of the following gentlemen their regret, as communicated in letters received by the Secretaries, at having been unavoidably unable to attend the Meeting,—the Deans of Exeter, Salisbury, Peterborough, and Chichester, His Excellency the Chevalier Bunsen, the Prussian Minister, the Rev. the President of Trinity College, Oxford, the Ven. Archdeacon Burney, Rev. Dr. Spry, Rev. Dr. Bandinel, the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, M.P., Philip Hardwicke, R.A., Ambrose Poynter, Arthur Acland, R. B. Phillips, Esquires, and W. B. Turnbull, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The PRESIDENT then said,—We have now to proceed to the more important business of the day—that of making the regulations for our guidance in the future, and there is one point of considerable importance to which I will now direct your attention, as it is one on which may arise misconception or misconstruction. We ourselves, and the public generally, have been put to great inconvenience—to use a vulgar and old saying—by there being two Simon Pures in the field. It is inconvenient to persons wishing to join us,—it is inconvenient to persons wishing to join other associations,—it is inconvenient to all, and, seeing the way in which we have been supported by the public, they are, I think, entitled to consideration at our hands, and I therefore am of opinion we ought to change our name. I have thought of this before, and immediately before I went

abroad I held a conversation with Mr. Way respecting it, to see if we could not make some arrangement before another meeting. I thought it right to recommend that some mutual agreement should be come to by the two Societies, and a change of designation take place. I recommended to our rivals, —not that I mean to call Lord Albert Conyngham my rival, for I believe that his intentions are of the best kind, although I am afraid he has allowed himself to be deceived,—that both, by common consent, should change our names, and that, as there were two words to the present title—Archæological Association—we should take one word, and they the other; that one should be called the Antiquarian Association, and the other the Archæological Society. I will read to you Lord Albert's reply, which I think most honourable to him individually. I am sorry to say I cannot read to you my letter to him, I unfortunately did not preserve a copy of it. The Marquis then read Lord Albert's letter, which was to this effect, "that he could not well make the Marquis's proposition to members of an Association who had just elected him their president, as, by so doing, they would admit that they had assumed a title without any claim to it. That they were willing to listen to any proposal for re-uniting the society, but that such proposal must come from the other side, and that he himself was willing to make any personal sacrifice to secure such an object." The Marquis then stated that the substance of his reply was, that he was afraid any attempt to unite the bodies at present would be more likely to prevent than to produce so desirable an object; that he did not wish the other party to make any concession, for if it was a concession on one part, it must be so on both. That he had suggested that the first step should be taken by them, because they held their meeting first, and would thus have the first opportunity: that, besides, Lord Albert was president of one section, while he (Lord Northampton) was only the local president elect of the other. That he did not intend that either party should abandon their claim to be *the association*, but that they should simply for mutual convenience each give up part of their common name. The Marquis added, I did not succeed, but my feelings still remain the same, and the Central Committee, to whom I have submitted the question, agree with me. We do not call upon you to make any concession to the other party, but to look to public convenience; that public who have so generously supported us on the present occasion, and who have a right to say, "Why put us to this inconvenience? Why make matters personal, that ought not to be personal? Why talk of the Way party, and the Wright party?" We are now strong. We can stand upon our own ground. We can say to Lord Albert Conyngham, "You are the minority, the name is of no consequence to us, you may have it." Under these circumstances I deny that we are making any concession, and, if we were, we could afford to make it. We do not say that we are not in the right, for I believe we are. We were right in not consenting to the violent measures taken at the time. Our opponents always avoid the real question at

issue. Lord Albert Conyngham resigned the presidency, and this put us into a difficulty. There are times when it is necessary for public bodies to use violent means, but they should always avoid being more violent than is absolutely necessary. Now, in this case, admitting, for the sake of argument, that there was a grievance to be redressed, all that could be necessary was that the Committee should be called upon to summon a general meeting of the members. Instead of this, a meeting was called by the Treasurer, at which about 150 out of 1,700 or 1,800 members attended. No notice was given that the minority intended to turn out the majority of the Committee, but an intimation rather to the contrary. What right then had they to turn them out? What power had they to do so? None. But we had a right to say we would not abide by the decision of such a meeting; and it should also be observed that the meeting took place before Easter—at a time when very few of the members of the Association were in London. A meeting so called had no power to re-elect Lord Albert Conyngham. Without now going into the question of the *Album*, admitting (for the sake of argument) that there had been mistakes in that matter, nothing justified such a proceeding. However, by a change of name we in no way recognize the validity of such acts; the only parties concerned in the change are ourselves and the public, and I think the latter have a right to expect thus much at our hands. I must now refer to a statement by Mr. Pettigrew published in *The Times* to-day. He says, "I cannot but deeply regret to see a nobleman for whom I entertain the highest respect standing forth as the leader of the secessionists, and in his speech, as reported in your paper of this day, he is represented to describe himself as 'one of the earliest members that joined the association, and afterwards filled the situation of president of the architectural section.' Now, Sir, this must surely be an error of your reporter, for the Marquis of Northampton never attended a meeting of the association, never proposed either a member or a correspondent, never subscribed to the funds, nay, even declined to be president of the central committee upon its formation, on the ground of his position as president of the Royal Society. The only architectural section ever held was at Canterbury, and Professor Willis was the president." In regard to my being one of the earliest members of the association, I believe that I was, though I did not contribute before the division, being then absent from town, and being desirous to know what sums were given by others; but after the separation I at once made a donation, because I thought it advisable that the President of the Royal Society should discountenance an irregularity, so dangerous as a precedent. The reporter was wrong in stating that I claimed the honour of having "filled" the situation of President of the Architectural Section. What I did say was, that I had "accepted" that Presidency for the present Meeting, in fact it was so announced in the printed advertisements, but I did not retain the office, having subsequently accepted that of President of the Meeting. It

is also true that I never attended any previous meeting, because there never has been but one,—that at Canterbury last year—at which I fully intended to have been present, had I not been prevented by the necessity of going abroad, and by the state of my health. To return, however, to our regulations. The Committee have come, after much consideration, unanimously to the determination to change our name and adopt a fresh one. It is not one of the names I recommended to Lord Albert, but still it will shew that I was sincere in my offer, and will not in any way detract from our position. We are to be called the Archæological Institute of Great Britain. The word "Institute" is, I think, a better name than "Society," and it is borne by one of the leading bodies of Europe—I mean the Institute of Paris. The word implies that we mean to teach, and that we are not merely a company met together for the sake of society. There will be no difficulty in regard to our Journal—the name will remain the same. The next number of our journal will be *The Archæological Journal*, No. 7. You are now called upon to confirm the decision of the Committee; you, of course, have a perfect right to negative the decision of that Committee. This, I trust, you will not do; but place that trust in them which I think they have deserved at your hands. So far we have had a prosperous voyage, and are nearly in port, where I hope we shall arrive safe. With these observations I trust I have made my farewell speech to the controversy, and that we shall hear no more of it. If it becomes absolutely necessary to defend ourselves, of course we must not shrink from that necessity; but, as we shall abstain from attacking others, I hope that others will abstain from attacking us.

At the suggestion of Mr. Babington the words "and Ireland" were added after "Great Britain."

Charles Newton, Esq., Honorary Secretary, then read the following regulations for the future management of the Institute, which were afterwards submitted to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

REGULATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland is formed in order to examine, preserve, and illustrate all Ancient Monuments of the History, Manners, Customs and Arts of our Forefathers.

I. The Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland shall consist of Life Members, contributing a donation of not less than £10., of Annual Members contributing not less than £1. each year, and of Corresponding Members, who, taking an interest in its objects, and being disposed to give furtherance to them without any pecuniary contribution, may desire to attach themselves to the Institute. The Corresponding Members shall not be entitled to vote nor have any other privileges.

II. The Government of the Institute shall be vested in a Central Committee, consisting of a President, four Vice-Presidents, three Honorary Secretaries, a Treasurer, and twenty-four ordinary Members.

III. The President's tenure of office shall be for one year.

IV. The Honorary Secretaries and Treasurer shall be elected by the Committee, who shall also have the power of electing a Secretary at such a Salary as they may consider proper.

V. The Election of the President, Vice-Presidents, and Members of the Central Committee shall be made by the Ballot of the Life and Annual Members at the Annual Meeting. The Committee shall select one Vice-President and six Members of their body who are to go out annually, and shall nominate one Vice-President and six other Members to fill up the vacancies. The names of those who go out and of those who are proposed to supply their places shall be hung up in the Local Committee Room during the whole time of the Annual Meeting, and a printed copy of such lists furnished to each Member of the Institute with his Ticket for the Annual Meeting. No Member of the Committee, except the Honorary Secretaries and Treasurer, shall remain on the Committee more than four years, or be eligible to serve again until after the lapse of one year. Any Member of the Institute is at liberty to substitute on the list other name or names for those proposed by the Committee.

VI. The Committee shall be empowered to fill up *pro temp.* by election all occasional vacancies that may be caused by the Death or Resignation of the President, any of the Vice-Presidents or ordinary Members of the Committee.

VII. These Vacancies shall be supplied on the recommendation of at least three Members of the Committee, made in writing at one of the ordinary Meetings, the proposed Member to be balloted for at the succeeding ordinary Meeting.

VIII. The Annual Meeting shall be holden in one of the cities or principal towns in the kingdom, at which the elections, the appointment of the place of Meeting for the ensuing year, &c. shall take place. Notice of this Meeting shall be given by one of the Honorary Secretaries, by order of the Committee.

IX. The Committee shall have the power of nominating a certain number of Local Vice-Presidents.

X. No other General Meeting of the Institute shall be holden without the consent of at least three fourths of the Committee expressed in writing; for such Special Meeting a notice of at least three weeks shall be given by Advertisements in the public papers. At this Special Meeting the President, or in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents, shall take the Chair, and in their absence the Committee shall appoint a Chairman.

XI. Neither at the General Annual Meeting, nor at any Special General

Meeting, shall any alteration of, or addition to, any of the Rules or Regulations of the Institute be submitted to the Meeting, unless upon a proposal in the form of a Resolution in writing, signed by two Life or Annual Members, which shall have been sent to the Committee one month previous to the Meeting, and suspended in their Committee Room.

The Summons for the Special General Meeting shall specify the Resolution or Resolutions to be submitted to the Meeting, and the discussion shall be confined to that object only: in case such proposed Resolution or Resolutions shall be carried, another Special General Meeting shall be summoned by the Committee after the lapse of not less than a fortnight, or more than a month, for the sole purpose of ratifying or rejecting such Resolution. If, however, the first mentioned Special Meeting take place at a time not more than two months before the Annual Meeting, then such Resolution or Resolutions shall be ratified or rejected at that Annual Meeting.

XII. The Chairman of the Annual, or any other General Meeting, shall have an Independent as well as a Casting Vote.

XIII. A certain number of persons, not usually resident in London, shall be associated with the Central Committee as Honorary Members of that Body, and shall be entitled to a Vote at their Meetings. Such Honorary Members shall be proposed on the recommendation of at least three Members of the Committee, and the Election shall take place at the succeeding Ordinary Meeting.

XIV. The Committee shall appoint a certain number of persons, not resident in London, as their Local Secretaries.

XV. The Election of Local Secretaries and Corresponding Members shall be made by the Committee, on the proposal of one of the Members thereof, either on his own personal knowledge or on the recommendation of two subscribing Members of the Institute.

XVI. In these and all other Elections made by the Committee it shall be allowable for any Member thereof to demand a Ballot.

XVII. Subscriptions and Donations may be paid to the Treasurer, to any Member of the Committee, or to the Account of the Archæological Institute with the Bankers of the Institute, and no Subscriber shall be entitled to vote at the Annual Meeting who has not paid his Subscription. The Year shall be considered as closing with the termination of the Annual Meeting; from which time the Subscription for the ensuing year shall become due.

XVIII. The Cash-book and an Account of all Receipts and of the Balance in the Banker's hands, shall be laid on the table at each Meeting of the Central Committee. All Bills having been duly examined and approved in writing shall be paid by Cheque upon the Bankers, signed by the Treasurer.

XIX. The Accounts of the Institute shall be submitted Annually to two Auditors, who shall be elected for that purpose by the Members of the

Institute at the General Meeting, and who shall attest by their Signatures the accuracy of the said Accounts. The Accounts having been thus approved, shall be submitted to an Annual Meeting of the Committee, to be holden on the First Wednesday in May, and shall be printed and published in the Journal of the Institute as part of the proceedings of the Committee.

XX. A Report of the Proceedings of the whole year shall be submitted to the Annual meeting.

XXI. The Central Committee shall be empowered to make such Bye Laws as may from time to time appear to them expedient.

The Recorder of Winchester then proposed the following vote of thanks:—That the warmest and sincerest thanks of this Institute are offered to the Marquis of Northampton, for having presided over this Meeting; and this Meeting gratefully acknowledges the consummate ability, the unceasing zeal, and the undiminished kindness, with which he has, in discharging that office, devoted his cultivated taste and extensive acquirements to the service of the Institute. The Dean of Winchester seconded this vote, and the Marquis of Northampton returned thanks.

The Dean of Winchester then moved that the Marquis of Northampton be requested to accept the office of President for the ensuing year. This motion having been seconded by J. H. Markland, Esq., the Marquis of Northampton said—I am perfectly willing to accept the Presidency until the next meeting, when I trust that you will find some person connected with the locality in which you may decide to meet, to take the office, and under whom I shall be very happy, if I can be of any use as Vice-President, to act in that capacity. His Lordship then read the following list of the Central Committee, as proposed for the ensuing year, which having been submitted to the meeting, was unanimously approved.

President.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Northampton.

Vice-Presidents.

The Viscount Adare, M.P.
Sir Charles Lemon, Bart., M.P., F.R.S.
Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart., M.P., F.R.S.
The Very Rev. S. Wilberforce, D.D., Dean of Westminster.

Charles Frederick Barnwell, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Samuel Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Assistant Keeper of the Antiquities, British Museum.
Edward Blore, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.
George Bowyer, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law.
William Bromet, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.
Hon. Robert Curzon, jun.
Rev. John Bathurst Deane, M.A., F.S.A.
Benjamin Ferrey, Esq., Fellow of the Institute of British Architects.

The Ven. W. H. Hale, B.D., Archd. of London; Master of the Charter House.
Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq., one of the Assistant Keepers of the Records.
Philip Hardwick, Esq., R.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Edw. Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of the Antiquities, British Museum.
Thomas William King, Esq., F.S.A., Rouge Dragon Pursuivant.
Sir F. Madden, K.H., F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of the MSS., British Museum.
Rev. Samuel Roffey Maitland, F.R.S., F.S.A., Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth, *Treasurer*.
Charles Manby, Esq., Secretary of the Institution of Civil Engineers.
Charles Newton, Esq., M.A., British Museum, *Honorary Secretary*.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq., Hon. Sec. of the R. Inst. of Brit. Archit.
Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M.P.
Thomas Stapleton, Esq., F.S.A.
William John Thoms, Esq., F.S.A., Corr. M. of Soc. Antiqu. of Scotland.
Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq., F.S.A.E.
William S. W. Vaux, Esq., M.A., Department of Antiquities, British Museum.
Albert Way, Esq., M.A., Dir. of the Soc. of Antiqu.; Corr. M. of the Soc. of Antiqu. of Scotland, *Hon. Secretary*.
Sir Richard Westmacott, R.A., F.S.A., Professor of Sculpture, Royal Academy.

Honorary Members of the Central Committee.

Rev. Philip Bliss, D.C.L., F.S.A., Registrar of the University of Oxford.
Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., Ketteringham, Norfolk.
The Ven. Charles Parr Burney, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Archdeacon of Colchester.
The Very Rev. George Butler, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Dean of Peterborough.
The Very Rev. Thomas Garnier, D.C.L., Dean of Winchester.
Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., Hawarden Castle, Flintshire.
Henry Gally Knight, Esq., M.P.
The Very Rev. Thomas Hill Lowe, D.D., Dean of Exeter.
The Very Rev. Charles Scott Luxmoore, M.A., Dean of St. Asaph.
James Heywood Markland, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Bath.
The Very Rev. John Merewether, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Dean of Hereford.
George Ormerod, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Sedbury Park, Chepstow.
The Very Rev. George Peacock, D.D., V.P.R.S., Dean of Ely.
Rev. Frederick C. Plumptre, D.D., Master of University College, Oxford.
Rev. J. L. Richards, D.D., Rector of Exeter College, Oxford.
Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D., V.P.R.I.A., Trinity College, Dublin.
Rev. William Whewell, D.D., V.P.R.S., F.S.A., Master of Trinity Coll., Cambridge.
Rev. Robert Willis, M.A., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor, Cambridge.

The Mayor of Winchester proposed, and the Rev. E. James seconded, a motion that the Recorder of Winchester, and the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne should be appointed Auditors for the ensuing year. Carried unanimously.

The President then addressed the Meeting as follows:—The next business we have to consider, is the place of meeting for the ensuing year. We were last year well received at the first Archiepiscopal see, namely, Canterbury, and the Committee and myself think it right that we should next year visit York. York possesses peculiar advantages: its Minster is second to no

Cathedral in the kingdom, and there are ruins of a magnificent Abbey within the very walls of the city. At York there are also the remains of a Castle; I do not speak of the minor objects in which the neighbourhood abounds, or of the architectural magnificence of Beverley Minster, of Selby or Rievaulx Abbeys; for Yorkshire is indeed a sort of monopolizer of fine buildings; a county three times as large as any other county in England, it has more than three times the attractions of any other. I call upon you to accede to the proposal of the Committee that the next meeting should take place at York. It may appear to you, perhaps, that I am advocating a submission to the will of the Committee, tending to make them autocratical or despotic; but I think, that under existing circumstances it is better for us to put as much confidence in the Committee as possible, and it is as well to do so at all times, for there are often reasons presenting themselves to a Committee which it would be invidious to bring before the public. I ask you now to put that confidence in the Committee, and to agree on York as the next place of meeting. The proposition having been carried unanimously:—

J. H. Markland, Esq., read an invitation from the Archdeacon of Bath, in the name of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, expressing their wish that the Institute should meet at an early year in that Cathedral town, to which the following reply was made. "The Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland has received with much satisfaction the obliging communication of the Venerable Archdeacon Brymer, expressing the readiness of the Dean and Chapter of Wells to receive the Institute in that city. The Institute is well aware of the many objects of interest which that city and its neighbourhood present; and the members indulge the hope that in some future year they may be enabled to avail themselves of this kind proposal, and investigate what is so well worthy their attention."

Sir R. Westmacott moved the thanks of the meeting to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester for the cordial hospitality they had afforded to the members. A. J. B. Hope, Esq., M.P., seconded the motion.

The Dean of Winchester returned thanks.

The Dean of Hereford moved a vote of thanks to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College, which, having been seconded by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., was put by the President and carried unanimously.

The Warden of Winchester College and the Head Master returned thanks.

Lord Alwyne Compton proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Winchester, for their kind assistance to the Institute. The Head Master of Winchester College seconded the vote; and the Mayor returned thanks.

The Count Mortara proposed, and J. M. Kemble, Esq., seconded, a vote of thanks to William Burge, Esq., Q.C., the Recorder.

The Recorder returned thanks.

J. H. Markland, Esq., proposed a vote of thanks to the nobility, gentry, and clergy of Hampshire, for the countenance afforded by them to this meeting. C. F. Barnwell, Esq., seconded the motion.

The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne then moved a vote of thanks to T. Thistlethwayte, Esq., proprietor of Porchester Castle, for the facilities of access which he had most kindly afforded to the Members of the Institute on their visit to that building. The Rev. W. H. Gunner seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Thanks were then voted to the Royal Irish Academy, the Irish Archæological Society, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the Royal Institution of South Wales, for their kind liberality in sending for exhibition numerous objects of value from their respective Museums; the vote was proposed by the Warden of New College, and seconded by the Warden of Winchester.

The Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D., Vice-President of the Royal Irish Academy, returned thanks.

A vote of thanks to the Exhibitors, and especially to Colonel Greenwood, for his obliging offer to submit to the Meeting the results of researches into Roman remains on his property, was proposed by W. W. Bulpett, Esq., and seconded by the Rev. J. L. Petit.

A vote of thanks to the Local Committee, and especially to the Rev. W. H. Gunner, who had officiated so zealously as their Secretary, was proposed by the Rev. S. R. Maitland, and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Todd.

A vote of thanks to Edward Hailstone, Esq., for his indefatigable exertions in the arrangement of the Museum at the Deanery, was proposed by Edward Hawkins, Esq., and seconded by Albert Way, Esq.

The President then moved a vote of thanks to Albert Way, Esq., for his services as Honorary Secretary.

The President closed the proceedings by moving a vote of thanks to Owen B. Carter, Esq., architect, for the important services he had rendered the Institute by making drawings for the use of the Meeting.

Towards the termination of the proceedings, the Hon. and Rev. G. Noel communicated to the meeting an interesting discovery which had just been made in the Abbey Church at Romsey, and of which Mr. Ferrey (under whose care the restoration of that edifice is in progress) gave the following account:—

"It was found necessary to move a large Purbeck stone slab to the extent of two or three feet, in order to prevent its concealment by the intended flooring of some seats. From the circumstance of this slab being 11 ft. 6 in. long, by 3 ft. 9 in., and once ornamented by a large floriated cross of brass, of which the impress now remains, I was not without expectation that it might cover a stone coffin. Great care was therefore exercised in raising the stone. Upon its being moved, there was dis-

covered, immediately under it, a stone coffin, 5 ft. 10 in. long, by 2 ft. wide in the broadest part, and one foot deep, containing the skeleton of a priest in good preservation, the figure measuring only 5 ft. 4 in. in length, the head elevated and resting in a hollow cavity worked out of the stone, so as to form a cushion. He had been buried in the vestments peculiar to his office, viz. the alb and tunic. Over his left arm was the maniple, and in his hand the chalice, covered with the paten. Considering these remains to be at least five hundred years old, it is remarkable that they should be in such preservation.

The chalice and the paten are of pewter, the latter much corroded; a great portion of the linen alb remains; the maniple is of brown velvet, fringed at the extremity, and lined with silk; portions of the stockings remain, and also all the parts of the boots, though, from the decay of the sewing, they have fallen to pieces.

On the sides of the coffin could be traced the marks of the corpse when it was first deposited, from which it would appear that the deceased had been stout, as well as short in stature.

It is to be regretted that the inscription being stripped from the verge of the slab, we have no means of knowing whose remains these are. The Purbeck marble slab had never been disturbed, being found strongly secured by mortar to the top of the stone coffin. It is curious that the covering should be so gigantic, and the coffin under it so small. Judging from the size of the slab and the beauty of the large floriated cross, it might have been supposed to cover some dignified ecclesiastic. This is clearly not the case; the vestments found being such only as belong to the humbler grade of the clergy. Perhaps the great size of the cross on the slab (which has, indeed, the peculiarities of a processional cross) may be intended to designate the office of the deceased, whose duty it might have been (if a subdeacon) to carry the cross on solemn festivals.

This is, however, mere conjecture; but it can scarcely be concluded that a Purbeck marble slab of such magnitude as compared to the coffin would be placed, without some special reason or meaning.

In the absence of any known date, judging from the impress on the marble, and the shape of the stone coffin, I should assign both to the early part of the fourteenth century."

CATALOGUE OF ANTIQUITIES

Exhibited during the Annual Meeting at Winchester, in the Gallery of the Deanery, and at the St. John's Rooms.

EGYPTIAN AND ETRUSCAN ANTIQUITIES.

An Egyptian signet ring, formed by a Scarabæus, set in gold. It was found on the little finger of a splendid gilded mummy at Thebes. In all probability the wearer of the ring had been a royal scribe, as by his side was found a writing tablet of stone; on the breast was a large Scarabæus of green porphyry set in gold, and the usual vases, representing genii, were of the finest oriental alabaster. These last are in the possession of Col. Barnet.

A swivel seal ring of blue porcelain, found at Abydus in Upper Egypt. Setting modern. This ring is curious in several respects. It has a double impression, on the one side is the king making an offering to the gods with the emblems of life and purity, on the other side the name of the monarch in the usual "cartouche," one that is well known, being that of Thothmes III., whom Wilkinson supposes to have been the Pharaoh of Exodus. It is worthy of remark that this "cartouche" is "supported" by asps, which are usually considered to be the attribute of royalty.

A specimen of ancient Egyptian skill in cutting leather. The skin of leather was cut with exquisite skill so as to form a delicate net, the use of which is uncertain, as, though it is shewn in the frescoes of the tombs that the "clap net" for birds was often employed, it is difficult to imagine that this specimen ever could have had sufficient strength for such a purpose.

Portion of Egyptian cloth, admirably preserved, and, as it could have been but slightly impregnated with the bitumen used with the mummy from which it was taken, it is still glossy like "spun silk:" this, together with its being fringed, made it resemble not a little a modern lady's mantilla.—*These Egyptian Antiquities were exhibited by John Anthony, Esq.*

Etruscan fictile ware; Etruscan pitcher, representing Hercules and the Nemæan Lion; Etruscan ware, called "rhyton," from Nola; Etruscan vase, and specimen of glass, from the same place.—*The Marquis of Northampton.*

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

Ancient glass, found in the course of excavations at Tivoli; ancient glass called porporini, found at the same place; Roman glass imbedded in terra cotta; Roman lamps of terra cotta, glazed; specimen of Samian ware, and a Roman Christian lamp.—*Exhibited by the Marquis of Northampton.*

Roman portrait, enclosed in glass, of a youth wearing the Bulla appended to his neck. Formerly in the Strawberry Hill collection.—*Rev. Philip Bliss, D.C.L.*

Roman portrait, in glass, of a female and boy. The neck of the boy is decorated with the Bulla. Engraved in Middleton's Miscellanea Antiqua, iii., where there is an account of vitreous ornaments of this kind.—*G. W. Dilke, Esq.*

Bronze statuette of Bacchus; it was ploughed up near Rome, and was considered to be of Greek workmanship. The pedestal on which it was placed was of marble, found at the baths of Caracalla.—*J. P. Anderdon, Esq.*

The præfericulum, used by the priest, with which the libation was poured upon the animal about to be sacrificed ; it was dug up amongst the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter, near the Bay of Baiæ, in the vicinity of Naples.—*J. P. Anderdon, Esq., of Farley Hill, Reading.*

Glass vessel, found on the site of a Roman villa, at Comberton, near Cambridge.—*Mr. I. Deck.*

Bronze ring found on one of the phalanges of the finger of a skeleton, with coins and Roman pottery, at Icklingham, Suffolk.—Also an iron trowel, found embedded in brick work with various Roman remains, at the same place.—*Mr. I. Deck.*

Various Roman antiquities, and a lock and key, found with fictile vessels at Icklingham, Suffolk.—*J. G. Gwilt, Esq.*

Roman lock, found near Cambridge.—*Mr. Deck.*

Model of the Temple of Concord, made by Mr. Tongue.—*J. H. Markland, Esq.*

Cranium of peculiar form, found at Trumpington, near Cambridge, with coins, pottery, and a torc ; the upper jaw shews the contortion of the orbits ; the teeth are coloured by the ærugo of an obolus.—*Mr. Deck.*

Portion of a human cranium, singularly formed, with the hair in fair preservation : it was found with remains of a chaplet of box leaves, and Roman pottery, at Chesterford, Cambridgeshire.—*Mr. I. Deck.*

Bronze head or medallion of Julius Cæsar, found at Otterbourne, near Winchester. See Milner's History of Winchester, vol. i. p. 15.—*J. N. Hughes, Esq.*

Roman pig of lead, dug up at Bossington, near Stockbridge, Hants, about 60 years since ; and the lower portion of a Roman quern, or hand-mill, found at the same place, in 1834.—*John M. Elwes, Esq.*

Roman antiquities, comprising some remains of weapons, discovered at Bramdean, Hampshire.—*Lieut. Col. Greenwood.*

Roman lamp of terra-cotta, found within the camp on Old Winchester Hill near West Meon. Fragments of pottery, found in a barrow near the same encampment, with bones, the *favilla*, or cinders of the burnt corpse, and other remains. This earth-work appears to have been the *castra æstiva*, formed by the Romans in the country of the Meanveri, a tribe commemorated in the names East and West Meon, and Meon Stoke.—*Rev. Charles Maberly.*

Roman fictile vessels, found in digging foundations in Jewry Street, Winchester.—*Mr. H. Newman.*

Three Roman fictile vases, found at Highfield, Winchester.—*W. T. Græme, Esq.*

Sepulchral vase of earthenware, found in a bed of chalk, near Winchester, in 1789. A representation of it is given in the Vetusta Monumenta, vol. iii., with the account of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen. It was found in a tomb near the road from Winchester to Silchester, and was supposed to be Roman.—*Samuel Deverell, Esq.*

Roman fictile vessels, arrow heads, and other remains, found in the neighbourhood of Winchester.—*The Winchester Mechanics' Institute.*

Roman fictile vessels, dug up at Itchen-Abbas, Hampshire.—*Rev. R. Wright.*

Roman vase found at the heads of three skeletons, in a field at Brown Candover, Hants. Various Roman coins were discovered in the neighbourhood.—*Rev. C. D. Willaume.*

Roman vase, found in forming the foundation of the New Post Office, London. *E. P. Shirley, Esq. M.P.*

Roman fictile ware, beautiful fragments of "Samian" pottery, with various

antiquities, arrow heads and pheons, implements and ornaments of bronze, iron, and lead, found at Woodperry, in the parish of Stanton St. John, Oxfordshire. Representations of a variety of these objects are given in the Archæological Journal, iii. p. 116.—*Rev. John Wilson, B.D.*

Fragments of "Samian" ware, and a cinerary urn, found at Caistor, near Great Yarmouth, Norfolk.—*Rev. John Gunn.*

Portion of iron work, found attached to some wooden piles, in the river Test, Hampshire, and supposed to be the remains of some construction of the Roman period.—*J. Meggott Elwes, Esq.*

EARLY BRITISH, IRISH, AND SAXON ANTIQUITIES.

Kimmeridge "coal money," supposed to be the refuse pieces thrown aside after forming rings or other ornaments with the lathe. The material is the Kimmeridge shale of the Isle of Purbeck, Dorsetshire. These specimens were discovered with many fragments of rude pottery, near Rempstone Hall.—*John Hales Calcraft, Esq.*

Two models of cromlechs, belonging to the Bath Institution.—*J. H. Markland, Esq.*

Stone hammers or mauls, such as were used by the earliest inhabitants of northern Europe, probably as weapons of war; one of them was of unusually large size; it was found on Stanton Moor, Derbyshire.—*E. P. Shirley, Esq. M.P.*

Arrow-heads of flint, found near Batheaston.—*Miss Haygarth.*

Sepulchral urn, of rude earthen-ware, formed without the use of the lathe. It was half filled with ashes, and was found with a small coarsely-fashioned earthen cup and a lachrymatory, near the Roman encampment, on Kingston Hill, in 1844. These fictile vessels have, however, the character of Early British fabrication.—*William Roots, Esq. M.D.*

Two fine armillæ of pure gold, discovered in 1831, near Egerton Hall, Cheshire, in digging the foundation of a cottage, between that place and Hampton. A representation of one of them has been given in the Archæologia, xxvii. p. 400. A similar armilla of gold was found at Ropley, Hants, not long since, and is now in the possession of Mr. Liliwhite, a farmer at that place, who brought it to Winchester, during the meeting of the Society: its weight is 5oz. 17dwts. 11gr. —*Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart.*

Armilla of pure gold, discovered in Grunty Fen, near Ely, in 1844, very near the surface of the ground. Weight, $5\frac{3}{4}$oz. It is now in the collection formed by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Also, a celt of bronze, found, with two others, at the same place.—*The Cambridge Antiquarian Society.*

Two gold armillæ, discovered in a barrow, near Dorchester. — *Herbert Williams, Esq.*

Bronze collar, or beaded torc, of British workmanship, found under a stone amongst the roots of an oak, at Mowroad, Rochdale, Lancashire. A description of it is given in the Archæologia, xxv. p. 595.—*James Dearden, Esq.*

Torc of bronze, or mixed metal, found at Trumpington, near Cambridge.—*Mr. Isaiah Deck.*

Silver armilla, curiously ornamented with impressed work, found near Preston, Lancashire. It is supposed to be Saxon, and is precisely similar in workmanship to the various fragments of silver ornaments found in Cuerdale, Lancashire, now preserved in the British Museum.—*Mr. Isaiah Deck.*

A collection of fragments of bronze, iron, and gold, discovered on the estates of Lord Prudhoe, at Stanwick, Yorkshire, comprising portions of iron mailed-armour, an iron sword in a bronze sheath, the cross-guards of daggers, numerous objects which appear to have belonged to bridles, or horse-harness, and rings, of various sizes, curiously ornamented. This remarkable assemblage of singular objects has subsequently been deposited by Lord Prudhoe in the Collection of British Antiquities, now in the course of formation at the British Museum; where may be seen a collection, almost precisely similar, discovered on Polden Hill, Bridgewater, in 1800, and recently purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum. Representations of the principal objects comprising the latter collection are given in the Archæologia, xiv. p. 90.—*The Lord Prudhoe.*

Several bronze instruments of unknown use, discovered in Burwell Fen, Cambridgeshire.—*Mr. Deck.*

Bronze spear-head, found in Manea Fen, near Ely.—*Mr. I. Deck.*

Copper spear-head, found near Ely.—*Mr. I. Deck.*

Brooch of Anglo-Saxon workmanship.—*Mr. William Long.*

Bronze fibula, found near Kingston, six feet under the gravel in the bed of the Thames.—*Dr. Roots.*

Fibula, of yellow mixed metal, of early British workmanship.—*Rev. J. Haygarth.*

Two celts, found at Embley Common, near Romsey.—*Samuel Deverell, Esq.*

Bronze celt, or "missile hatchet," found in the Thames, near Kingston.—*Dr. Roots.*

Bronze celt, found in Burwell Fen, and a celt, of peculiar form, found in Swaffham Fen, Cambridgeshire.—*Mr. I. Deck.*

Celt, found in the parish of Otterbourne, in 1844, six feet below the surface.—*Lady Heathcote.*

Necklace of rough amber, found round the neck of a skeleton, near Ely, supposed to be of the Romano-British period.—*Mr. Deck.*

A very remarkable series of drawings of the bronze and other weapons and implements of the early races of Great Britain. They consist of celts of every form, beginning from those of the rudest kind—spear-heads, arrow-heads, swords, rings, armillæ, fibulæ, buckles and clasps for dress and harness; bosses ornamented with figures in relief, &c. chiefly found in Ireland, and preserved in the Museum of the R. I. Academy.—*Exhibited by the Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D., by the kind permission of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy.*

The umbo of a Celtic shield, and head of a spear, found in digging rubble upon the White Horse Hill, in 1776.—*E. P. Shirley, Esq. M.P.*

Bronze harp-keys, pins, needle, gouge, handle of a spear, fragments of various bronze implements, ornaments, amber and glass beads, &c. discovered on the island, in the Lake of Monalty, co. Monaghan, Ireland. See Archæological Journal, iii. p. 44.—*Evelyn P. Shirley, Esq. M.P.*

Bronze ornament discovered below the surface of the bog of Cornelaragh, Barony of Farney, county Monaghan, Ireland, 1844.—*E. P. Shirley, Esq. M.P.*

Ancient spear-head of bronze, found in a tumulus, at Hoe, near Bishop's Waltham. It was affixed to a ferule of bone or ivory.—*Rev. Charles Walters.*

Bronze sword blade, spear-heads, and an iron hatchet, found nearly two feet deep in blue clay, under the gravelly bottom of the Thames.—*William Roots, Esq. M.D.*

Bronze spear-head, found near a human cranium, in the Isle of Ely.—*Mr. Deck.*

Cross guard of a dagger, of Saxon workmanship, ornamented with interlaced

work, probably of the ninth century. It bears an inscription which may be read thus, LEOFRIC ME FEC. This relic is formed of bronze, or mixed yellow metal, and was found in Devonshire.—*Albert Way, Esq.*

Iron umbo of a shield, an iron sword, and other Saxon remains, found near Winchester.—*Mr. J. Dear.*

MEDIÆVAL ANTIQUITIES.—ORNAMENTS OF SACRED CHARACTER.

Portable altar, or *superaltare*, formed of porphyry, ornamented with curiously engraved and chased plates of silver parcel-gilt, some portions enriched with *niello*. Date, early in the thirteenth century.—*Rev. D. Rock, D.D.*

Morse, or fastening of the cope. Date, early in the thirteenth century.—*Rev. D. Rock, D.D.*

Beautiful thurible, of Italian workmanship. Date, close of the thirteenth century.—*Rev. D. Rock, D.D.*

Ancient paten of silver, preserved amongst the church plate at Wyke, near Winchester. It bears the following legend, CVNTA CREO—VIRTVTE REGO—PIETATE REFORMO.—*Rev. Charles Walters.*

Carved ivory diptych, subjects, the Crucifixion, and the censing of the Virgin by angels. Date, 14th century. Carving of ivory, subject, "The Stem of Jesse." Date, 15th century.—*Albert Way, Esq.*

Model of the head of the crosier of John Trilleck, Bishop of Hereford, 1344—1361, discovered in his tomb, in the choir of Hereford Cathedral. The original was of wood, carved and gilded.—*The Dean of Hereford.*

Ring discovered in Winchester Cathedral, in the choir, under the tomb of William Rufus. It is supposed to have been the pontifical ring of Henry de Blois, Cardinal, and Bishop of Winchester, A.D. 1129.—*The Dean of Winchester.*

Elegant ring, set with small rubies, and an antique intaglio, discovered in excavations in Winchester Cathedral. The date of the gold mounting may be about the times of Edw. I. or Edw. II.—*The Dean of Winchester.*

Ancient gold ring, set with a sapphire uncut. Discovered in Winchester Cathedral.—*The Dean of Winchester.*

Ancient pontifical ring, discovered by Dr. Nott in the tomb of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, 1556.—*The Dean of Winchester.*

Gold pontifical rings, discovered in Hereford Cathedral, in the tomb of Bishop Stanbury, 1452-74, and that of Bishop Mayo, 1504-16.—*The Dean of Hereford.*

Pyx, for the reservation of the host, for the visitation of the sick. A specimen of Flemish workmanship. Date 1400-50. Also a copper pyx, end of 15th century.

Wooden pax-board, of the 15th century. It represents the Virgin and Infant Saviour.—*Albert Way, Esq.*

A silver reliquary of Byzantinesque workmanship.—*Edward Hailstone, Esq.*

Pyx, formed of mixed metal silvered. Date, 15th century. On the upper part is the following inscription :—En : manus : tua : dms : commendo : spiritum : meum : On the lower part—Miserere : mei : deus : secundum : magnam : misericordiam : tuam : Sancta : maria : ora p'.—*Edward Hailstone, Esq.*

Pyx, of latten metal, dug up at Chippenham, Cambridgeshire. Date, about 1450.—*Rev. A. Tharp, Vicar of Chippenham.*

Processional cross, of gilt latten. Date, 14th century. Presented subsequently to the Museum of the Institute.—*John H. Parker, Esq.*

Chrismatory, found concealed under the roof of St. Martin's, Canterbury. Date, about 1450.—*Rev. W. J. Chesshyre, Rector of St. Martin's, Canterbury.*

Reliquary, of brass gilt and set with false stones. Date, 11th century. This kind of open workmanship was termed technically "opus triphoriatum," and such reliquaries, fashioned to be suspended to shrines, or other consecrated places, were called "pendula," or "rotellæ;" it is of French workmanship.—*Albert Way, Esq.*

Fragments of leaden vessels, and other ancient remains, found in Michelney Church, Somerset.—*Lady Mary Long.*

Reliquary, formed of latten metal, in the form of a shrine, or chapel, with a high-ridged roof. Date, about 1450.—*Miss Godwin, of Neston, Cheshire.*

The ancient key of the Magdalen Chapel, which formerly stood on Magdalen or Maudlin Hill, Winchester. The Norman door-way has been preserved at the Roman Catholic Chapel.—*S. Deverell, Esq.*

Book of Prayers, presented by Lady Elizabeth Tirwitt to Queen Elizabeth.—*Mr. Henry Farrer.*

Enamelled ornament, in the form of a coffin, designed as a memorial of a deceased relative, probably worn appended to the girdle, inscribed—THROVGH THE RESVRRECTION OF CHRISTE WE BE ALL SANCTIFIED. Date, 17th century.—*Mr. Henry Farrer.*

Ancient candlestick of latten, formerly belonging to the Church of St. Peter, Colebrook, Winchester, now demolished.—*S. Deverell, Esq.*

ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS, AND EMBROIDERIES.

An ancient altar cloth of damask velvet preserved in the Abbey Church of Romsey, embroidered with stars, and edged with a border of brown velvet, ornamented with lilies and stars. Date, early part of 15th century.—*The Hon. and Rev. G. T. Noel, Vicar of Romsey.*

A frontal of rich damask silk, embroidered with flowers. In the centre is a figure of the Virgin Mary, surrounded by a radiated aureole, and supported by angels; it has been preserved in the Church of Campden, Gloucestershire. Date, 15th century.—*Rev. C. E. Kennaway, Vicar of Campden.*

Crimson velvet cope, ornamented, in the hood and orfrais, with figures in shrine-work, representing apostles and saints. Round the heads of some of the figures are nimbi of garnets, or artificial gems. Date 15th century.—*E. Hailstone, Esq.*

A cope of crimson velvet, embroidered with stars, with rich orfrais of figures of saints, surmounted by canopies. Date, 15th century; it is probably of English workmanship, and has been preserved in the Church of Campden, Gloucestershire. —*Rev. C. E. Kennaway, Vicar of Campden.*

Green velvet cope, embroidered with flowers, the hood bearing the subject of the Annunciation, and the orfrais decorated with figures of St. Andrew, St. James, St. Katherine, and other saints. It is preserved in the Cathedral of Ely. Date 15th century.—*Very Rev. the Dean of Ely.*

A cope of red velvet embroidered, supposed to have been used formerly in the Cathedral of Winchester, and now preserved in the Roman Catholic Chapel, in that city.—*Rev. Dr. Picquot.*

Embroidered corporas cases, in which the linen cloth, or corporas, on which the sacred elements were consecrated, was kept and carried to the altar.—*Rev. Dr. Picquot.*

Sacramental linen cloth, worked by Mary Chatfield. Date, 1579; it belongs to Isfield Church, Sussex.—*Rev. Charles Gaunt.*

A portion of curious needlework, embossed in high relief, and richly wrought with gold and silver. It was probably used as a decoration of the altar table, in the Chapel of Winchester College. Subject, the Last Supper. Date, about 1600.—*The Warden of Winchester College.*

Portion of tapestry, wrought in cross-stitch, being part of the pulpit hangings from the ancient Church of Little Gidding, Huntingdonshire, restored and fitted up by Nicholas Ferrar in the year 1625, under the direction of his mother and sister, Mrs. Collet, who was very skilful in needle-works. See Dr. Peckard's Life of Ferrar.—*Miss Drusilla Way.*

OBJECTS OF PERSONAL OR DOMESTIC USE, WEAPONS, ETC.

A forcer or coffer of wood, richly carved, formerly in the Church of St. Laurent, at Eu, probably used as a reliquary. Date, about A.D. 1300.—*S. Hodgkinson, Esq.*

A beautifully carved casket of lime-tree, or chesnut wood. Date, 15th century. It was purchased at Constance, and appeared to be of German workmanship.—*The Marquis of Northampton.*

Ancient drinking cup, or mazer, apparently of ashen wood, which was supposed to be gifted with certain medicinal or extraordinary qualities; it was found in the deep well in the ruined Castle of Merdon, near Hursley, built by Bishop Henry de Blois, A.D. 1138. These mazer-cups were commonly used during the 14th and 15th centuries.—*Sir William Heathcote, Bart.*

Mazer-bowl, or wooden drinking vessel, mounted with silver gilt, of the customary form in use during the 14th and 15th centuries, inscribed—"In the name of the trinite fille the kup and drinke to me." Date, about 1400. A representation of it is given in the Archæol. Journal, ii. 263.—*Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq. M.P.*

Bronze figure of a horse, supporting a pricket for a candle, apparently intended to serve as a candlestick, and resembling, in general fashion, the figure of a stag, represented in the Archæologia, xxviii. p. 401.—*Mr. I. Deck.*

Standard measures, preserved by the Corporation of the City of Winchester, in the chamber over the West Gate. They comprise—a Winchester bushel of the reign of Henry VII., gallon and quart measures, a standard yard and a weight of the reign of Elizabeth. The whole of these measures are formed of mixed yellow metal. Also a curious bronze warder's horn, now kept in the muniment chamber, over the West Gate.—*Exhibited by the kind permission of the Mayor and Corporation.*

Ancient steelyard weight. Date, 13th century.—*The Duke of Bedford.*

Another similar steelyard weight, discovered about five years since in a moat at Fulbroke, in Warwickshire. Weight, 2lb. 11oz. Similar weights are represented in Archæologia, xxv. pl. 64.—*Rev. W. Staunton.*

Similar steelyard weight, found in the neighbourhood of Winchester.—*Rev. W. Williams.*

Brass mounting or frame of an aulmonière; the pouch which was worn appended to the girdle, during the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. It is inscribed with the salutation, "Ave Maria gratia plena." Found at Houndwell, Southampton.—*John Rushworth Keele, Esq.*

Another frame of an aulmonière, and a seal; they were discovered in the neighbourhood of Winchester.—*J. H. Markland, Esq.*

Girdle of goldsmith's work, called, in French, *coraye*, or *jaseron*. Date, about 1560.—*Mr. H. Farrer.*

Two curious knives, date, 17th century, such as were described by Mr Douce, in the Archæologia, xii. 215; an ancient watch, and two beautiful châtelaines. —*Mrs. J. H. Parker.*

Wooden tablets, curiously emblazoned, and inscribed with moral precepts from Holy Writ: they are of rectangular form, twelve in number, and enclosed in a wooden case, resembling a book. These tablets are supposed to have been used, during the 16th century, for handing round sweetmeats to guests, at a social entertainment. They were found in Elmley Castle. Date, early in the reign of Elizabeth.—*Mrs. Bird, Upton-on-Severn, Worcestershire.*

Another curious set of ten similar tablets, of circular form, bearing inscriptions in verse, and texts from the Scriptures in the margin. On the lid of the box in which they are enclosed appear the arms of England, surmounted by the Imperial Crown, between a lion and dragon, as supporters. A like set of roundels, formerly in the possession of Francis Douce, Esq. is preserved at Goodrich Court. See Sir Samuel Meyrick's Catalogue of the Doucean Museum, Gent. Mag. vi. 492. —*J. Clarke Jervoise, Esq.*

Runic Almanac, in the form of a walking stick, called in the north of Europe a rim-stok or primstaf; the symbols and figures which ornament this singular calendar relate to the saints' days, the festivals of the year, auspicious or ill-omened days, and the successive occupations of the seasons. The staff exhibited was of a fashion rarely to be found in the north, and appeared to be the same which was procured at Trondheim, in Norway, by Mr. Wolff, formerly Norwegian Consul at London. He published a description of it, with plates, entitled, "Runakefli, le Calendrier Runic, Paris, 1820." Almanacs of a similar kind, usually in the form of a square bar, or clog of wood, were used in England, according to Dr. Plot, in his History of Staffordshire, as recently as the 17th century.—*S. Hodgkinson, Esq.*

Spear-head, found near St. Giles's Hill, Winchester.—*Mr. Charles Drew.*

A remarkable shield of parade, of the time of Edward IV., exhibiting figures of a knight and his mistress, with the motto "Vous ou la mort;" they were beautifully designed, and painted with singular skill. It is the property of George Vandeput Drury, Esq., of Shotover House, near Wheatley, Oxfordshire.—*Rev. John Wilson.*

An iron bolt-head, of very singular fashion, with barbs contrived so as to fall back upon the shaft during its passage, which spread out on an attempt to extract it. Sir S. Meyrick considers it to be of Oriental contrivance. It is supposed to have been used at the battle fought at Danesmoor, near Banbury, in the reign of Edward IV. A.D. 1469. It was dug up on Chipping Wardon Hill. See Beesley's History of Banbury, p. 184.—*Rev. G. M. Nelson.*

Rowelled spur, of the earlier part of the 15th century, found at Houndwell, Southampton.—*John Rushworth Keele, Esq.*

Ancient arrow-head, formed of iron, discovered in a pond, at Bishops Waltham. —*Rev. C. Walters.*

Basket hilted sword, found on the field of the battle of Cheriton, Hants, fought on March 29, 1644.—*J. Lipscomb, Esq.*

Cannon ball, a relic of the siege of Winchester in 1644.—*Mr. Henry Moody.*

Snuff-grater, or rasp, of beech or lime-tree, curiously carved in the style of Dutch workmanship of the 17th century. It is ornamented with the arms of

the Commonwealth, and initials of Richard Cromwell, eldest surviving son of the Protector, born 1626; he died 1712. He had married, in 1649, Dorothy, eldest daughter of Richard Major, Esq., of Hursley, and resided chiefly there. This relic, with numerous letters relating to the Cromwell family, has been preserved at Hursley. A representation of an ivory tobacco-rasp, of the time of James I., is given in the Archæologia, xxiii. p. 416. From this mode of preparation, snuff was termed rappee.—*Sir William Heathcote, Bart.*

Three Italian medals, of beautiful workmanship, date, 15th century.—*Rev. Henry Wellesley.*

A medal struck by Pisani, in honour of Alphonso, King of Naples.—*J. Lipscombe, Esq. Alresford.*

Goa stone, an aromatic metallic compound, about three inches in diameter, in a silver filagree case, used medicinally by a member of the Heathcote family, about a century since. In a MS. volume written by Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, who died 1726, now in the possession of Evelyn P. Shirley, Esq., the following account is given of this curious substance. "The Goa stone is an admirable preparation of several ingredients: it is made by a Jesuit at Goa; it hath the same effects with the Lady Kent's powder, but is much stronger; it is a sudorificke, and expells all poisons and malignant humors in the bloud; it is admirable in all feavours and agues, and good to prevent them; it drives out mesels and small pox; some persons doe eate a little of it euery day, and doe scrape some of it in to drink; it is a great cordiall." A small Goa stone, in a silver case of filagree work, with a tripod stand, is in the possession of Frederick Ouvry, Esq., and a third, of large size, in the collection of Mrs. Knight, of Oaklands, Herts.—*Sir William Heathcote, Bart.*

Two curious mediæval vessels of earthenware (date 14th century?) found at a considerable depth in forming the foundations of the residence of the Head Master of Winchester College, recently erected. Of some similar vessels, found near Trinity College, Oxford, representations are given in the Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 62.—*The Wardens of New College and Winchester College.*

Broken vessel of similar fashion and manufacture, recently found, at a considerable depth, in the Old Jewry Street, Winchester.—*Mr. H. Newman.*

Several earthen vessels, cressets, &c. of mediæval manufacture, found in Winchester.—*The Winchester Mechanics' Institute.*

Large charger or dish of coarse glazed ware, enamelled with blue and purple colours. It represented a regal figure, with the long wig of the close of the 17th century, probably intended as a pourtraiture of William III., as indicated by the initials W. R. It was found, at a considerable depth, in the Lower Brook Street, Winchester, about eighty years since.—*Mr. John Drew.*

Three jugs of glazed stone ware, of Flemish manufacture, dug up at Cambridge. Date, 17th century.—*William J. Thoms, Esq.*

Specimens of Chelsea porcelain, baskets for fruit, elegantly ornamented.—*Lady Heathcote.*

Wooden Jack, or drinking tankard, japanned, of Oriental manufacture, marked with the initials R. H.—*Samuel Deverell, Esq.*

Three leathern black Jacks, of various sizes, and a leathern water-bouget.—*Edward Hailstone, Esq.*

A black Jack, found in cutting turf on Diamond Hill, Bagshot Heath, a little beneath the surface. Presented to the Museum of the Institute.—*Philip De la Motte, Esq.*

SERIES OF ENAMELS.

Small fibula, in the form of a mounted warrior; discovered with a large number of Roman coins, of the period between Vespasian and Alexander Severus, in the foundations of an ancient bridge over the Troutbeck at Kirkby Thore, Westmoreland.—This little specimen, of undoubted Roman workmanship, deserved notice, as shewing the same process of art, technically called *champ levé*, which was extensively practised by the Byzantinesque enamellers of Limoges in the eleventh and subsequent centuries.—*Exhibited by Sir H. De la Beche.*

A processional cross of beech wood, covered with plates of copper, enamelled in the Byzantine style of Limoges. Date, 12th century.—*E. Hailstone, Esq.*

Reliquary of copper enamelled, a good specimen of the process termed *champ levé*, practised at Limoges. This kind of reliquary, formed like a small shrine or chapel with a high pitched roof, was usually termed "cofra Limovicensis" or "bahut de Limoges." Date, 13th century. Subjects, The Martyrdom and Entombment of St. Thomas of Canterbury. At each end is the figure of an Evangelist, or Apostle. Dimensions: height, 5 in.; length, 5 in.; breadth, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. It was found in a marl-pit, at Toddenshaw Hall, near Tarporley, Cheshire, towards the close of the last century, and converted by the farmer who discovered it, to the purpose of a tea-caddy. Similar enamelled reliquaries exist in Hereford Cathedral, Shipley Church, Sussex, and in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.—*Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart.*

A reliquary of copper enamelled, executed at Limoges in the Byzantine style. Date, 13th century.—*E. Hailstone, Esq.*

A pyx, enamelled. Date, end of 12th century.—*Rev. D. Rock, D.D.*

A pax, enamelled, originally intended to be used as a morse. Beginning of 14th century.—*Rev. D. Rock, D.D.*

A pax of copper covered with enamel of Limoges. Subject, The Crucifixion. Date, 16th century.—*E. Hailstone, Esq.*

Salver of enamel of Limoges, executed by Pierre Rexmon. Date, about 1580.—*Edmund S. Lechmere, Esq., Great Malvern.*

Two plates of enamel of Limoges. Subjects, The Saviour crowned with thorns, and the Mater Dolorosa. Painted by Nicholas Laudin. Date, 16th century.—*E. Hailstone, Esq.*

Two plates and a saucer of enamel of Limoges, painted by N. Laudin. Date, 16th century.—*E. Hailstone, Esq.*

Two Limoges enamels in black and white *grisaille;* they represent two of the Cæsars. Date, about 1580.—*Albert Way, Esq.*

Snuff-grater, of Limoges enamel, executed about 1630. Subject, Dido and Æneas.—*Albert Way, Esq.*

Enamelled candlestick, of elegant design, 10 in. high, probably of English workmanship. It is formed of mixed yellow metal, similar to bell metal: the enamels are light green, dark blue, and white. Date, 16th century. Some similar examples are preserved in Mr. Bernal's collection.—*John Beever, Esq., of Thwaite House, Ambleside.*

A round enamelled ornament of English workmanship, bearing the arms of James I., intended to be affixed to the centre of a large salver.—*Edward Hailstone, Esq.*

Three Oriental enamelled vessels; shewing the principal colours used in China for enamelling on thin copper plate.—*Albert Way, Esq.*

MATRICES AND IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS, AND SIGNET RINGS.

Bronze seal of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, Winchester. Device, The Holy Lamb. The St. John's Rooms, wherein the meetings of the Society were held, stand upon the site of that ancient foundation, the origin of which is attributed to St. Brinstan, Bishop of Winchester, A.D. 934.—*Samuel Deverell, Esq.*

Bronze seal of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, near Winchester. A representation of it is given in the Vetusta Monumenta, iii. p. 12.—*Rev. W. Williams, Master of the Hospital.*

Curious leaden matrix, of pointed oval form, discovered, in August 1845, in the gardens adjoining to Wolvesey Castle ; it exhibited a female figure, in her hand a branch or lily, with the inscription ✠ SIGILL'. PERNILLE. FILIE : ALFRE : PARVE. Date, 12th century.—*Rev. W. H. Gunner.*

Circular silver seal, discovered at Compton Wynyate, Warwickshire, bearing the following arms ; a chevron, charged with three quatrefoils, or fleur-de-lis ? S' THOME : DE : COMPTONE.—*The Marquis of Northampton.*

Silver seal of very unusual fashion, with a *secretum* inclosed ; it had long descended in the family of Earl Ferrers, and is now in the possession of Mr. Shirley. It bears the arms and name of Thomas de Prayers. Date, 14th century. A representation of this curious matrix is given in the Archæologia, xxix., p. 406.—*Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq. M.P.*

Bronze seal of the Sub-Dean of Chichester, found between the parishes of Cholderton and Newton Toney, Wiltshire, on the borders of Hampshire. It bears the legend S' SVBDECANI CICESTRIE. See the Archæol. Journ., vol. ii. p. 210.—*Rev. Thomas Mozley, Rector of Cholderton.*

Impressions from three seals, preserved in the custody of the Mayor of Winchester ; the first being the seal of the time of Edward I. " ad recognitionem debitorum apud Winton' ;" the second, a small seal of the Mayoralty, date 17th century ; the third, a signet ring with the arms of the city, and initials E. W probably Edward White, Mayor in 1613 and 1621.—*Charles Bailey, Esq., Town Clerk.*

Two small circular matrices, found at Winchester, in excavations for the railway, at the back of the King's House. One exhibited the Baptist's head in a charger, a sword above, it was inscribed IOHANNES ; on the other a man's head, with the word ✠ SIGILLUM : SECRETI. Date, 14th century.—*W. T. Græme, Esq.*

Small bronze matrix, a personal seal, found at Hyde Abbey, near Winchester, bearing a shield, with the following arms ; a cross patée between three crescents. —*Samuel Deverell, Esq.*

Collection of bronze matrices, chiefly foreign, formerly in the possession of the late Dean of St. Patrick's, comprising some very beautiful personal and official seals.—*Edward Hailstone, Esq.*

Bronze matrix of the seal of the Chantry founded at Wimborne, Dorset, by Thomas de Brembre, Dean of Wimborne, 1350 ; a representation of this fine seal has been given in Hutchins' Hist. of Dorset. This seal, with several rings, found in the New Forest, formerly in the possession of Dr. Latham, and a small watch of curious early workmanship, were kindly presented, at the close of the Meeting, to the Institute, towards the formation of a permanent Museum of Antiquities.—*Rev. Robert Wickham, Twyford.*

Antique intaglio, set in silver in mediæval times as a *secretum*, inscribed—SVM LEO QUOVIS EO NON VERA VEO. I am the Lion ; wherever I go, I bear nought

save the truth. Device, a lion passant; a bull's head under his paw. It was found near Luddesdown, Kent.—*Rev. Edward Shepherd.*

Silver signet ring, found in the bed of the river Nene, at Wisbech, St. Peter's. Possibly a rebus, or canting device; the letter U and a deer trippant implying, as it had been conjectured, the writer's tender regard towards his correspondent; *you dear!* Date, about the time of Henry V. or Henry VI.—*Rev. Henry Ollard, F.S.A.*

Leaden Bull of Pope Alexander VI. (A.D. 1492,) found near the remains of Hyde Abbey.—*Rev. W. Williams.*

Impressions of the seals of Edward II. for the recognisances of debtors at Hereford; of the seals of the Bailiffs of the City, and of St. Katharine's, in the City of Hereford.—*The Dean of Hereford.*

Impressions of the seal of Isabella of Navarre, Queen of Edward II.; a very imperfect representation is given in Sandford's Genealogical History; also of the seals of Pilton Abbey, Dorset; of William, Earl of Suffolk, Lord of the Honor of Richmond; of the Earl of Derby, Lord of the Honor of Richmond, and Margaret, mother of Henry VII., and of Sir Walter Ralegh, Governor of Jersey; obverse and reverse.—*John Gough Nichols, Esq.*

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

Original deed, by which Alberic de Vere enfeoffed the Church of Hatfield-Broad-Oak, in Essex, now in the patronage of Trinity College, Cambridge, with two parts of the tithes of Ugley. A knife, with the blade broken, is appended to it. "Per istum cultellum Albericus de Veer, primus Comes, feofavit Ecclesiam de Hatfield-Regis Monachorum de duabus partibus decimarum de dominio Reginaldi filii, in Uggeley." Date, A.D. 1135.—*The Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.*

Several ancient deeds and Indulgences, comprising a document to which is appended the seal of the Dean of Chichester; another with the seals of the Abbot and Chapter of St. Valery, near Rouen; another with the seals of the Abbot and Chapter of St. Catherine, near Rouen; a deed with the seal of St. Elizabeth's College, Winchester; two Papal Indulgences; an Indulgence granted by Adam, Bishop of Hereford; and a grant of lands in the neighbourhood of Winchester, to which is appended a seal bearing the device of a hare and a ton, probably a rebus of the name of the grantor, Watton. A hare was formerly called Wat, as a kind of nic-name.—*The Warden of Winchester College.*

Remission of pains and penalties, granted by Henry VI. to the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, Winchester; with other documents relating to that Institution. —*Rev. W. Williams, Master of the Hospital.*

Grant of Arms to Robert Lee of Quarendon, Bucks, by Thomas Wryothesley, Garter, King of Arms, and Thomas Benolt, Clarenceaux, with their signatures, and official seals appended in wooden boxes. Dated April 18, A.D. 1513. 4 Henry VIII.—*William J. Thoms, Esq. F.S.A.*

Roll exhibiting the Descent of the Sovereigns of England, curiously emblazoned, with miniature portraits, from the time of the Conqueror to the reign of Elizabeth. At the foot of the roll, which measures in length 11 ft. 6 in., is the name of the herald-painter by whom it was executed. "John Johnson fecit."—*George Grant Francis, Esq. F.S.A., Hon. Librarian of the Roy. Instit. of S. Wales.*

Roll of Arms, illustrative of the descent of the Beauchamps, and other noble English families.—*Rev. Henry Wellesley.*

SEPULCHRAL BRASSES, IMPRESSIONS FROM INCISED MEMORIALS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

Original Sepulchral Brass, representing a gentleman in armour, and his wife, kneeling on a pavement of triangular-shaped tiles; behind them an Arras hanging decorated with roses, pine-cones, and the badge or crest of a flaming beacon, with the motto "So have I cause." It measures 19 in. square, and weighs 10 lb. Dr. Latham states in the Archæologia, xv. 302, that it came from Netley Abbey, and was found in a cottage, where it had served as a fire-back. Date about 1500. The beacon-crest, and motto, as stated in Archæol. xxi. 550, are those of the Comptons, and they appear in the East window of Sopley Church, near Ringwood, Hants.—*Rev. H. Burnaby Greene, Vicar of Longparish, Hants.*

Several original sepulchral Brasses, formerly in the Churches of Brown Candover and Itchen Stoke, Hants, which have recently been rebuilt. Three of them, removed from the former Church, appeared to be the memorials of a gentleman and his wife, named Wylson, A.D. 1559, and John Latihall, priest, early in the sixteenth century. One of the brasses from Itchen Stoke represented Johan wife of John Batmanson, A.D. 1518.—*Rev. W. Gunner.*

Impressions from the following Sepulchral Brasses existing in the chapel and cloisters of Winchester College. John Baratte, Mayor, 1523; Nicholas North, 1445; John Bedell, 1498; John Hyllynghall, 1432; Thomas Lyripin, 1509; John White, 1493, and numerous inscriptions.—*Mr. Baigent.*

Impressions from various remarkable inscriptions and sepulchral memorials on the Continent; 1, a Phenician inscription on a plate of lead, found at Carpentras, in Dauphiny, and preserved in the Museum, at Avignon: 2, inscription on one of the seats of the Amphitheatre at Arles: 3, early Christian Sepulchral Inscriptions, from the Museum at Treves: 4, Mural inscription of the tenth century, from the crypt of St. Michael's, Fulda: 5, Mural inscriptions, commemorating the erection of the Church of St. Gilles, in Provence, in the twelfth century, and that of the Church of Remagen, on the Rhine, in the thirteenth century: 6, beautiful incised slab from Tournay; 7, a large sepulchral brass in the Cathedral at Bruges representing a Doctor of Theology, surrounded by his pupils: 8, Portrait of Bishop Nicolas de Cusa, from his sepulchral brass at Cusa, on the Mosel; he died A.D. 1488.—*William Bromet, Esq. M.D.*

Impression from an Inscribed slab in Ryther Church, Yorkshire, to the memory of a Prioress of Appleton Nunnery, who died in the fourteenth century; and a sepulchral brass of John Mapleton, at Broadwater, Sussex.—*John Parkinson, Esq.*

Impressions from the fine incised slab representing John Cherowin, Constable of Porchester Castle, who died 1441, preserved in Brading Church; from brasses representing persons in armour, at the Churches of Calbourne and Arreton, Isle of Wight; brasses of Richard Bethell, Vicar of Shorwell, Isle of Wight, who died 1518; of John de Campeden, Master of St. Cross in 1382, and of two priests, in the Church of St. Cross; of John Kent, Scholar of Winchester College, 1432, from Headbourne Worthy Church; and of Katherine Dabrigecort, from Preston Candover Church, date, 1607.—*Rev. W. H. Gunner.*

The following series of sepulchral brasses and memorials were contributed by the Rev. Edward Hill, the Rev. Charles Hartshorne, and the Rev. Henry Addington, forming a remarkable exhibition of the character of such memorials at various periods. Sir John d'Aubernoun, 1277; Sir Roger de Trumpington, 1289; Sir Robert Septuans, 1306; Sir John Bacon? *c.* 1310; cross-legged Knight, and his lady, from Minster, Sheppey, *c.* 1320; Adam Bacon, Oulton,

Suffolk, 1320; Sir John d'Aubernoun, jun. 1327; Sir John de Creke, 1327; Lawrence Seymour, Higham Ferrers, 1327; Sir Hugh Hastings, Elsing, 1347; Adam de Walsoken, Lynn, 1349; Bishop Trilleck, Hereford, 1350; a fine figure of a Priest, North Mimms, Herts, *c.* 1350; Sir John de Cobham, 1354; Abbot de la Mare, St. Albans, 1360; Robert Braunche, Lynn, 1364; Sir Thomas Cheyne, and his son, Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks, 1375; John Bloxham and John Whytton, Merton College Chapel, 1387; Sir John Harsicke, Southacre, Norfolk, 1389; incised slab of Sir John de Wydeville, Grafton Regis, 1392; Margaret de Cobham, 1395; Sir Thomas Braunston, Wisbeach, 1400; John Cassy, Deerhurst, Glouc., 1400; Lord Russel, Dyrham, Glouc., 1401; Thomas Beauchamp, 1401; Sir Nicholas Hawberk, Cobham, 1407; a fine coped priest, at Castle Ashby, *c.* 1420; Sir Thomas Bromflete, Wymington, Beds, 1430; Richard Delamare, Hereford Cathedral, 1421; Dame Elizabeth de Cornwall, Burford, Salop, 1450; Henry Green, Lowick, 1467: Henry Sever, Warden of Merton College, 1471; Robert Ingylton, and 3 wives, Thornton, Bucks, 1472; Henry Denton, Higham Ferrers, 1488; John Harewell, Wootten Wawen, 1505; and Dr. Hewke, Master of Trinity Hall, 1517.

WORKS OF ART, AND DRAWINGS.

Series of beautiful original illuminations from MSS., some of them were formerly in the possession of Mr. Ottley. This collection comprised specimens of the Italian, German, Flemish, and English styles of design, as displayed in limnings, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, and presented numerous examples of very choice character.—*Edward Hailstone, Esq.*

Drawings, beautifully illuminated in colours by Mrs. Gunn, representing paintings which decorate the wooden screen of Tunstead Church, Norfolk. The subjects were chiefly figures of Apostles and Fathers of the Church.—*Rev. John Gunn.*

Drawing which represented an heraldic painting in distemper on a Norman arch in Hereford Cathedral.—*The Dean of Hereford.*

Tracings in colour from mural paintings in distemper, discovered on the walls of Barfrestone Church, Kent, during the repairs. The whole were destroyed: they exhibited interesting specimens of Art, towards the close of the twelfth century. Also, similar tracings of paintings at the East end of the North aisle of Hales Owen Church, executed apparently about A.D. 1380.—*Richard Hussey, Esq. F.S.A.*

Tracing from a portion of the ancient map, the "Mappa Mundi," preserved in Hereford Cathedral. Date, early in the thirteenth century.—*The Dean of Hereford.*

Sketches illustrative of the Churches of Christ Church Priory, Romsey, and other remarkable Architectural remains in Hampshire.—*John Buckler, Esq., F.S.A.*

Drawings, representing interesting Architectural details at the Church of St. Cross, and several Churches in the neighbourhood of Winchester.—*John Colson, Esq.*

Ancient map, or bird's-eye view of the city of Winchester, from Braun's "Civitates Orbis Terrarum," 1618.—*Mr. Henry Moody.*

Painting, representing the city of Winchester, as it appeared in the last century.—*The Warden of Winchester College.*

Ichnography of the city of Winchester, on a large scale, with representations of various ancient objects of interest connected with the city.—*Mr. R. C. Gale.*

Curious map of the county of Hampshire, by Isaac Taylor, 1759, surrounded by vignettes, representing Porchester and Carisbrook Castles, the remains at Silchester and other scenes of interest.—*J. Twynam, Esq. M.D. Winchester.*

Copies of fifty Mexican paintings, from the work on Mexico, by Juan de Tovar, mentioned by Acosta, and long lost; its existence having even been doubted by Pinelo, in his "Index Geographicus" of writers on America.—*Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.*

DECORATIVE PAVEMENTS, TILES, AND CASTS.

Design of the tessellated pavement, discovered at Bishopstone, Herefordshire, in 1812.—*Rev. R. L. Freer, B.D.*

Designs of mosaic pavements in the Basilicas at Rome, shewing the origin of various patterns employed in mediæval times.—*Rev. Professor Willis.*

Design of the curious pavement formed of glazed and impressed tiles, which originally formed an approach from the Cathedral to the Lady-Chapel at Ely, and is now laid down in the south transept. Date, 14th century.—*Rev. D. J. Stewart.*

Pavement of the room over the entrance passage to the Deanery, on the south side of Worcester Cathedral. This chamber, now used as the singing school, appears to be of late Decorated work. The tiles were manufactured, probably, at Droitwich, where a kiln was discovered a few years since, containing several tiles of the same patterns which occur in this pavement.—*Exhibited and drawn by Rev. George S. Munn.*

Coloured representations of Decorative pavements in the Muniment Chamber, at Westminster Abbey, of the full size of the original tiles. Communicated by Miss Addington. Date, 14th century.—*Rev. G. H. Bowers.*

Designs of a Decorative pavement existing in the west triforium of the south transept, at Westminster Abbey; and of another pavement in the Abbey Church of St. Alban's, in front of the shrine of the Saint.—*Rev. Henry Addington.*

Several Decorative pavement tiles, discovered in Winchester.—*Owen Carter, Esq.*

Three Decorative pavement tiles, ornamented with designs of Italian or rénaissance character, in low relief, faced with transparent coloured glazes. Tiles of the same designs, supposed to have been manufactured at Neufchâtel, in Normandy, are often to be found in that part of France. Date, about 1525.—*Rev. Edward Turner, Rector of Maresfield.*

Pavement tiles, ornamented with designs in relief: they were formed of coarse dark coloured clay, faced with a strong colourless glaze, and are to be found in several Churches in the north of Devon, having, probably, been manufactured in that county as recently as the 18th century.—*John Henry Parker, Esq.*

Decorative pavement tiles, with various colours inlaid, manufactured by Mr. Chaloner, at Jackfield, Coalbrook-dale, Shropshire.—*Rev. Charles H. Hartshorne.*

Cast from a singular ball of granite, found near Exeter, in a ploughed field. It appears to have been carved A.D. 1200, or thereabouts, having the character of Norman sculpture: it represents a human scull; its intention is entirely unknown.—*The Very Rev. the Dean of Exeter.*

Two casts from Binstead Church, Isle of Wight. They represented the eagle, with a crucial nimbus, and a dragon, with a tail which terminated, as it appeared, in a monstrous head.—*Rev. Charles Walters.*

Cast from a portion of an effigy in Ryther Church, Yorkshire, illustrative of the modes of representing chain mail.—*F. Fortin, Esq.*

Seven miniature casts, representing views of several remarkable examples of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Germany.—*The Marquis of Northampton.*

Singular branch formed of lead, with most delicate ramifications, measuring about ten inches in length. It was stated to have been found in an excavation near Romsey, during the formation of the railway.—*Charles Wooldridge, Esq.*

Casts from the curious sculptures on the curious Norman fonts in Winchester Cathedral, and the Church of East Meon, Hants; they appear to have been sculptured by the same hand. Representations of the former are given in the Vetusta Monumenta, and Britton's History of Winchester Cathedral; of the latter in the Archæologia, x. p. 185. The subjects represent the Creation of Eve, the Temptation by the Serpent, Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, and their instruction in the arts of husbandry and spinning.—*Albert Way, Esq.*

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY THE REV. R. WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S., &c.

JACKSONIAN PROFESSOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

In this history I propose to follow the same plan which I adopted with respect to Canterbury Cathedral, namely, to bring together all the recorded evidence that belongs to the building, excluding historical matter that relates only to the see or district; to examine the building itself for the purpose of investigating the mode of its construction, and the successive changes and additions that have been made to it; and lastly, to compare the recorded evidence with the structural evidence as much as possible. A complete delineation and description of the building must not be expected, any more than a complete history of the see. The first have been most admirably supplied in the plates and text of Mr. Britton's well known volume, and the able and copious work of Milner contains every particular that can be required for the second. But still it appeared to me that the history of the building might be disentangled with advantage from the mass of local information in which it is enveloped in these works, and that the present advanced state of archæological knowledge in architecture called for a closer investigation of the structure than had hitherto been attempted. Unfortunately, no Gervase has recorded this history of the cathedral, and we can only pick out detached fragments of written evidence.

The principal sources are, Rudborne's "Historia Major," and the "Annales Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis," both printed by Wharton. There exists also in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford, a manuscript chronicle of the church of St. Swithun at Winchester, by John of Exeter. By the kindness of the Rev. Lewis Sneyd, M.A., Warden of All Souls College, the Institute has been furnished with a transcript of this chronicle, of which

I have availed myself in the following pages. The title of the manuscript sets forth[a] that John of Exeter wrote it with his own hands in the year of our Lord 1531. But at the end of it is a list of kings of England, with the dates of their coronations, deaths, and places of burial. This list concludes with the coronation of Henry the Sixth in 1421, and with a prayer for his prosperity. Also our author's list of the bishops terminates with the succession of Cardinal Beaufort. As he died in 1447, during the reign of Henry the Sixth, we may conclude the manuscript to have been written between 1421 and 1447, and, therefore, that the date at the beginning must be read 1431 instead of 1531.

The manuscript which Wharton calls an Epitome of Rudborne, and which in his time existed in the Cottonian Library, (Galba A 15), but was unhappily burnt, appears to have been the same with this work of John of Exeter. It begins with the same words[b], and contains the list of bishops, of which Wharton has printed the latter part at the end of his copy of Rudborne (p. 285). But it is ill described as an epitome, for, although in common with Rudborne, the early part of the history is made up of extracts from the lost works of Moracius, Vigilantius, &c., yet these extracts are often more copious than Rudborne's, and many particulars are thus supplied, as well as in the latter periods, which especially relate to the burial places of the bishops and kings.

Other sources of information are contained in the Life of Ethelwold, by Wolstan[c], and similar works. And for William of Wykeham, the admirable biography by Bishop Louth supplies every kind of documental information.

In conclusion, I beg to express my thanks to the dean and chapter of the cathedral, for the kind and hospitable facilities which enabled me to carry on the investigations which form the subject of the following pages.

[a] The title is as follows: "Liber historialis et antiquitatum domus Sancti Swithuni Wintonie Johannis Exceter ejusdem loci commonachi propriis manibus descriptus, anno dominice Incarnationis millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo primo." The manuscript concludes with the words, "Hec Exceter propria scripsit manu. Finis." It does not follow that this manuscript is an autograph, and the clerical error in the date seems to shew that it is not.

[b] "Tempore quo humanæ salutis," &c. Ang. Sac. p. 179.

[c] Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti Sæc. V.

CHAP. I.

THE HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL TO THE YEAR 1170.

1. Early tradition has carried the history of this church far higher than that of Canterbury, for we are told that Lucius, king of the Britons, after his conversion to Christianity, (c. A.D. 164,) did erect from the foundations (or rather rebuild in lieu of a previous temple) the church of the British town of Kaergwent (now called Winchester or Winton). Also that he placed monks there, and erected for their temporary accommodation a small dwelling, with an oratory, refectory and dormitory, until the great work should be completed[a].

This having been effected in the fifth year of the king's conversion, the church was dedicated in honour of the holy Saviour, on the fourth kalend of November, A.D. 169, and endowed with the possessions that had formerly belonged to the pagan priests. The dimensions of this church are stated, on the authority of the lost work of the British historian Moracius[b], to have been 209 passus in length, 80 in breadth, and 92 in altitude. From one extremity of the church across to the other was 180 passus[c].

The site of the monastery to the east of the church was 100 passus in length towards the old temple of Concord, and 40 in breadth towards the new temple of Apollo. The north portion was 160 in length, and 98 in breadth. To the west of the church it was 190 in length, and 100 in breadth. To the south 405 in length, and 580 in breadth. On this side was placed the episcopal palace and the offices of the monks[d].

2. During the persecution of Diocletian[e], A.D. 266, the monastery of Winchester was destroyed, and reconstructed by the assistance of the oblations of the faithful, in the year

[a] Rudborne, (Ang. Sac., v. 1, p. 181,) on the authority of the lost work of Vigilantius, "de basilica Petri," i. e. on the church of St. Peter at Wynton. This work is quoted perpetually by Rudborne and John of Exeter, and appears to have been the principal local history. The quotations terminate immediately before the Conquest, to which period therefore we may refer the author in question.

[b] "Ille antiquus Britannorum conscriptor Moracius."—Rudborne, p. 182.

[c] In the All Souls manuscript of John of Exeter these dimensions are stated somewhat differently, (still quoting Moracius,) as 200 pass. in length, and 130 across; the rest coincide.

[d] "In hac plaga situatum est palatium episcopale, domus necessariæ, ac officinæ monachorum."—Rudborne, p. 185. I leave to others the task of reducing these measurements to consistency with each other and with probability. Perhaps by reading *pedes* for *passus*, one foot for five, we may assist in this work.

[e] Rudborne, 183.

293, when it was dedicated in honour of St. Amphibalus, one of those who suffered under the late persecution. But this church was neither so large as the former, nor was the monastery so extensive as that of King Lucius. From this time it bore the name of the old monastery, "Vetus Cœnobium[f]." When the Saxons obtained the rule over the land, Cerdic, the first king of the west, was crowned at Winchester, and having slain the monks, converted the church of St. Amphibalus into a temple of Dagon, in the year 516[g].

3. Thus it remained for one hundred and forty-two years, until the advent of St. Birinus, the first apostle of the west, who, by the mission of Pope Honorius, came to these regions forty-one years after the coming of St. Augustine, namely, in the year 635, and converted the king Kynegils and all his people to Christianity[h].

This king having destroyed the temple of Dagon which Cerdic had erected, began the foundation of the cathedral church of Winchester, which he was prevented by death from completing[i]. But he granted the whole of the land for the space of seven miles round the city for the establishment of the episcopal seat, and for the maintenance of the monks, who were now, by the advice of Birinus, for the third time esta-

[f] Rudborne, 186.

[g] Rudborne, 187.

[h] MS. John of Exeter, f. 2, 6; Rudborne, 189, &c.

[i] "In votis enim ejus erat in Wintonia ædificare templum præcipuum et collectis jam plurimis ad opus ædificii terram totam ambientem Wintoniam à centro Wintoniæ usque ad circumferentiam ab omni parte lineâ exeunte septem leucas habentem ædificandæ ecclesiæ in dotem dare disposuit. Quæ quia letiferâ præventus ægritudine per se complere non potuit; vicario usus est; vocatumque ad se filium suum Kinewalchum fecit jurare coram S. Birino in animam suam quod ipse ecclesiam sede episcopali dignam construeret in Wintonia et terram quam circinaveret, eidem ecclesiæ ad opus ministeriorum ejus ex parte suâ Deo offeret et in jus perpetuum confirmaret. Aº. DCXXXIX Kinewalchus filius Kinegilsi. Iste post vexationes quas pertulit a Pendâ rege Merciorum propter repudium filiæ suæ, ecclesiam pulcherrimam construxit in Wyntonia et totam terram quam pater voverat ecclesia contulit et confirmavit."—Annales Wint. Ang. Sac., p. 288.

"Kynegilsus primus occidentalium rex Christianus incepit fundare ecclesiam cathedralem Wintonie, ut ibi gloriosus posset primas Anglie et Gewyseorum apostolus primus almifluus pontifex Birinus pontificalibus insigniri infulis. Sed morte invalescente opus inceptum non potuit perficere sed assignata terra tota in circuitu civitatis ad spacium septem miliariorum ad constructionem sedis episcopalis et ad sustentationem monachorum quos ex consilio sancti Birini terna vice introduxit sub protestatione juramenti a filio suo Kinewaldo soluta in speciali pro parte testamenti suo legavit heredi. Sicque regni sui negociis per omnia rite dispositis spiritum comendavit in manus Creatoris anno regni sui xxxi, conversionis vero sue anno sexto, pontificatus beatissimi patris Birini anno vi et in Wentana civitate in ipsa ecclesia quam edificare inceperat coram summo altari corpus ejus traditur sepulture. Kynewaldus patri in regnum succedens paternum propositum summo preceptum quam studiosius potuit adimplevit, perfectaque fabrica ecclesie Wentane que modo vetus nominatur cenobium sanctificataque cetu monachorum conveniente, dedicavit ipsam basilicam Christi summusta Birinus summe ac individue Trinitatis honore."—John of Exeter MS. f. 2, b. See also Rudborne, pp. 189, 190, &c.

blished in this place. And having bound his son Kynewald by an oath to complete his intentions, he died in the thirty-first year of his reign, and in the sixth of his conversion, and was buried in the city of Winchester, before the high altar of the church which he had begun to build.

Kynewald succeeded to his father's crown, and completed the fabric of the church of Winchester. In the sixth year of his reign Birinus dedicated this basilica of Christ in honour of the holy and indivisible Trinity.

4. Meanwhile the seat of the episcopal government had been temporarily established at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, by King Kynegils, waiting the completion of the works at Winchester, and at Dorchester the body of Birinus was first deposited. But when Hedda, the fourth successor of Birinus in the episcopate, removed the episcopal seat to Winchester in accordance with the original intention of the royal founder, the body of Birinus was translated thither.

5. King Kynewald, the completor of the fabric, was buried before (or under) the high altar[j]. And of the succeeding bishops of Winchester it is recorded that the following were buried there[k]. Hedda—"Humfredus and Kinehardus were both buried in the north part of the church in the crypt, as Vigilancius writeth." "Egbladus, Dud and Kynebrithus, all three, lie inhumed in the crypt, under the altar of the Virgin Mary; and Almundus, Wyderginnus, Herforthus, and Edmundus in the nave of the church; Edmundus near the door of the choir, as Vigilancius recordeth." "Helmstanus was buried before the high altar, but since in a leaden coffin deposited on the north side of the altar, over the tomb of Bishop Richard Toklyn[l]."

6. St. Swithun was made bishop of Winchester in the year 852, having previously held the office of prior in that church. He was a diligent builder of churches in places where there were none before, and repaired those that had been destroyed

[j] "Kynewaldus, filius Kyngelsi qui opus ecclesie a patre inceptum complevit et tria maneria eidem ecclesia dedit . . . qui sepultus est sub summo altare."—John of Exeter, f. 5, b; also Rudb., p. 191.

[k] "Hedda . . . Wintonie sepultus est . . . . Humfridus et Kinehardus ambo sepulti sunt Wintonie in boreali parte ecclesie sub cripta ut scribit Vigilancius . . . . . Egbladus, Dud, Kynebirthus, Almundus, Wydergynnus, Herforthus, Edmundus. Quorum tres primi jacent humati in cripta sub Dei genetricis altari; quatuor secundi in navi ecclesie, Edmundus jacet prope ostium chori, ut scribit Vigilantius . . . . . Helmstano in ecclesia Wintoniensi sepulto coram summo altari sed modo in locello plumbeo posito ex boreali plaga altaris supra tumulum Richardi Toklyn episcopi."—John of Exeter, f. 3, b.

[l] This bishop filled the see from 1174 to 1189.

or ruined. He also built a bridge on the east side of the city, and during the work he made a practice of sitting there to watch the workmen, that his presence might stimulate their industry[m]. He died in the year 863, and was buried, in accordance to his own injunctions, outside the church, in a vile and unworthy place, where his grave was trampled on by every passenger, and received the droppings from the eaves. Afterwards a small and beautiful chapel was erected there to his honour, which, says Rudborne, is still to be seen at the north door of the nave of the church[n].

Wolstan, describing the place in his metrical eulogium of the saint, says[o], that a tower, capped with a roof, and of the greatest magnitude, stood before the lovely entrance of the holy temple. Between this and the sacred nave (aula) of the temple, the body of the saint was interred. And he adds, that out of his extreme humility, he not only thought himself unworthy to be deposited within the church, but that he would not even lie amongst the other graves that received the rays of the rising sun and the noonday warmth, for he commanded his body to be deposited on the western side of that famous nave.

[m] "Sanctus iste ecclesias in locis in quibus non erant studiose fabricavit dirutas et fractas reparavit ..... Hic etiam sanctum pontem ad orientem Wintonie construxit."—Capgrave. "Operariis ad pontem in orientali parte urbis faciendum forte assederat, ut instanti presentia suscitaret stimulos desidum incuriæ."—W. Malm., 242.

[n] "Præcepit ut extra ecclesiam cadaver suum humarent: ubi et pedibus præteruntium et stillicidiis ex alto rorantibus esset obnoxium."—W. Malm., de gest. Pont., p. 242. "Extra ecclesiam in indigno loco et vili."—Capgrave.

"Jam verò valefacturus cadaver suum extra ecclesiam præcepit tumulari ubi postea constructa est modica capella, quæ adhuc cernitur ad boreale ostium navis ecclesiæ."—Rudborne, 203. "S. Swithunus .... sepultus est extra portam borealem navis ecclesie qui locus tunc indecens erat, modo vero ibidem quam pulchra capella in ejus honore constructa est."—John of Exeter, f. 4.

[o] Turris erat rostrata tholis, quia maxima quædam,
Illius ante sacri pulcherrima limina templi,
Ejusdem sacrata Deo sub honore hierarchi.
Inter quam, templique sacram pernobilis aulam,
Corpore vir Domini sanctus requievit humatus, &c.

. . . . . .

Mente humili in tantum presul fuit inclitus idem,
Ut perhibent omnes, hunc qui novêre fideles,
Ut se post obitum sineret nullatenus intra
Ecclesiæ Christi penetralia corpore poni:
Sed nec in electis loca per diversa sepulcris,
In quibus antiqui patres jacuêre sepulti,
Aurea sol oriens orbi qua spicula mittit,
Qua mediumque diem fervente calore perurit:
Sed magis occiduo mandat se climate poni
Illius illustris, quam sæpe notavimus, aulæ.

Wolstan. Vit. S. Swithuni, Act. Sanc. Jul., tom. i. 321.

7. Two years after the death of Swithun, the Danes entered and ravaged Winchester, and slew the whole of the monks, but the cathedral is not said to have suffered. Tumbertus, however, the second bishop after Swithun, gave the manor of Stusheling to the fabric of the church[p]. Bishops Frithestanus and Brinstanus were both buried in the north aisle of the church, and Elphegus on the north side of the high altar[q].

8. Bishop Athelwold was too great a promoter of ecclesiastical architecture to be dismissed with a summary notice. He, while a monk at Winchester, having by his piety recommended himself to Edgiva, queen of Edward the Elder, and mother of the reigning king Eadred, was by him appointed to the abbacy of Abingdon, a place where of old a small monastery had been established, but which was now deserted. There, however, the king was desirous of founding a new monastery, which he and his mother richly endowed. "And the king himself came on a certain day to this monastery to give orders and arrange the structure of the buildings; with his own hands he measured all the foundations, and himself commanded in what manner the walls should be made; when this was done the abbot requested him to dine in his hospitium. And the king, in the joy of his heart, sat down with a large party of his nobles from Northumberland, who happened to be with him. He called for abundance of hydromel, and, having locked the doors, lest any of the party should evade their due share of the royal potations, they drank merrily till the evening[r]." "Nevertheless, the abbot did not begin to erect the projected works in the days of King Eadred, for that king

[p] Rudborne, p. 206.

[q] "S. Frithesthanus . . . . S. Brithestanus . . . qui ambo in aquilonari ala ecclesie Wentone honorifice traduntur sepulturæ. Tunc Elphegus confessor . . . . . ad aquilonarem plagam summi altaris corpus ejus veneratione dignum humatum est."—John of Exeter, f. 4.

[r] "Venit Rex quadam die ad Monasterium ut ædificiorum structuram per se ipsum ordinaret: mensusque omnia fundamenta Monasterii propria manu, quemadmodum muros erigere decreverat, rogavitque eum Abbas in hospitio cum suis prandere. Annuit Rex ilico, et contigit adesse sibi non paucos Optimatum suorum venientes ex gente Nordamhimbrorum, qui omnes Rege adierunt convivium. Lætatusque Rex et jussit abunde propinare hospitibus hydromellum, clausis diligenter foribus ne quis fugiendo potationem regalis convivi, deserere videretur. Quid multa? hauserunt ministri liquorem tota die ad omnem sufficientiam convivantibus; sed nequivit ipse liquor exhauriri de vase nisi ad mensuram palmi in ebrietate suatim Nordanhimbris et vesperi cum lætitia recedentibus."—Wolstan. Vit. S. Ethel., p. 613. Many of the anecdotes that follow, I have translated from the Life of Athelwold, (or Ethelwold), which Mabillon has printed in the fifth volume of the "Acta Sanctorum Ordini S. Benedicti." He identifies with apparent reason this biography with that mentioned by William of Malmsbury, who speaking of Bishop Ethelwold, says that his life was written in a somewhat indifferent style by his pupil Wolstan, cantor of Winton. Mabillon. A. S. p. 606.

was suddenly removed from this life on the ninth kalend of December. But during the reign of his glorious son and successor Eadgar, the abbot completed an honourable temple dedicated to the Virgin Mary[s]."

9. "King Eadred proved himself an especial admirer and friend of the 'old cenobium' of Winchester—witness the ornaments which were by his orders made for that place; a golden cross, a golden altar, and many others, which, with a liberal hand, he there bestowed in honour of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. Had he lived he intended to have adorned the eastern apse of the church of Winchester with gilded tiles[t]."

10. "The holy Athelwold was a great builder of churches, and of various other works, both while he was abbot, and after he became bishop of Winchester," and, like his friend and cotemporary Dunstan, was himself a workman. "Hence the malignity of the adversary endeavoured to compass his destruction; for, on a certain day, when the holy man was working at construction, a great post fell upon him and knocked him into a pit, breaking nearly all his ribs on one side, so that, had it not been for the pit, he would have been crushed to pieces[u]."

After this he was elected by King Eadgar to the episcopate of Winchester, and consecrated there in the year 963.

11. "At Winton he repaired and endowed a monastery of nuns, originally founded by Ethelswytha, mother of Edward the Elder, in honour of the Blessed Virgin. He purchased, and for no small sum, a certain spot called Ely, where there had been originally a monastery of Etheldreda, Saint and Virgin, which, having been destroyed by the Danes, the place had become royal property. Here he established monks, and

[s] Wolstan. Vit. S. Ethel. p. 613.

[t] ". . . Eadredus erat Veteris cenobii in Wintonia specialis amator atque defensor, ut testantur ea quæ ipso jubente fabricata sunt ornamenta magna scilicet aurea crux, altare aureum et cetera quæ larga manu benignus illuc ad honorem beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli direxit ibique æternaliter ad Dei laudem et gloriam conservari precepit qui etiam, si vita comes fieret, orientalem porticum ejusdem Wintoniensis ecclesiæ deauratis imbricibus adornare disposuit."—Wolstani Vita S. Ethelwoldi. Mab., tom. v. p. 612.

[u] "Erat . . sanctus Athelwoldus ecclesiarum ac diversorum operum, magnus ædificator et dum esset Abbas et dum esset Episcopus. Unde tetendit ei communis adversarius solitas suæ malignitatis insidias, ut eum, si ullo modo posset extingueret. Nam quadam die dum vir Dei in structura laboraret, ingens postis super eum cecidit, et in quandam foveam dejecit confregitque pœne omnes costas ejus ex uno latere, ita ut nisi fovea illum suscineret, totus quassaretur."—Wolstan. 614.

"Nescires quid in eo magis laudares: sanctitatis studium, an doctrinarum exercitium, in prædicatione instantiam, in ædificiis industriam."—W. Malmsb. p. 244.

instituted Brythnothus, the prepositus of the old monastery of Wynton, abbot, erecting buildings there. Also he bought of King Edgar a place then called Medamstede, but since named Burgh[v]. Here he consecrated a basilica, in honour of St. Peter, furnished with all its proper edifices, and established monks there, with Eadulphus for their abbot, who afterwards succeeded St. Oswald as archbishop of York. Thirdly, and at no less expense, he acquired a place, which, from the abundance of briars that grew about it, was called Thorneia; and there he established monks, with Godmannus for their abbot, about the year of grace 970, as it is recorded by Johannes in his Historiâ Aureâ[x]."

12. "In the days of King Edgar the holy father Athelwold translated the blessed Birinus, the first apostle of the west, and placed him in a comely *scrinium*, made of silver and gold: for when St. Hedda, bishop of Winchester, removed the body of the holy father Birinus from Dorchester, he buried it in the church of Winchester, on the north side of the high altar, and it was not translated 'more sanctorum' until the time of Athelwold, as Vigilancius writeth, and as it is also said in the legend which is read in the church of Winchester on the octave of the translation of St. Birinus. Moreover, after Athelwold had, with the consent of King Edgar, expelled the canons and replaced them with monks, he, admonished by a divine revelation, removed St. Swithun, the especial patron of the church of Winton, from his mean sepulchre, and placed him with all honour in a 'scrinium' of gold and silver, of the richest workmanship, the gift of King Edgar.

"The saint was thus translated in the hundred and tenth year of his rest. And for his glory, so great was the concourse of people, and so numerous and frequent the miracles, that the like had never been witnessed in England; for so long as the canons inhabited the church of Winchester, St. Swithun performed no miracles, but the moment they were ejected the miracles began, as Vigilancius testifieth, and also Lantfredus. St. Athelwold also translated the bodies of Saints Frythestane, Brinstan, and Elphege, together with the holy virgin Edburga, daughter of Edward the Elder[y]."

13. "When the holy man had earnestly set about the re-

[v] Now Peterborough.

[x] Translated from Rudborne, p. 218. See also Wolstan, p. 615.

[y] Translated from Rudborne, p. 223. See also John of Exeter, f. 4.

building of the old church (of Winchester), he commanded the brethren to assist in the works, together with the artificers and workmen. Thus the labourers emulating one another the building gradually rose aloft, sustained on every side by many oratories intended for those who would ask help from the saints. It happened one day, while the brethren were standing with the masons at the very top of the temple, that one of them, by name Godus, fell from the highest point to the ground, but he immediately arose unhurt, and when he had crossed himself and wondered how he came there, he ascended in sight of the spectators to the place he had left, and taking up his trowel went on with his work[z]."

14. In the year of the Lord 980, and on the 13th kalend of November (Oct. 20,) the church of the old cenobium at Wynton was dedicated by nine bishops, of whom the first and principal were Archbishop Dunstan, and the holy Bishop Athelwold, in presence of King Etheldred, and of nearly every duke, abbot, and noble of England[a]. The church was dedicated in honour of the Apostles Peter and Paul[b]. At this point of the history the biographer Wolstan, quitting prose, gives vent to his enthusiam in a poem, of which more below.

Athelwold died at *Beaddington*, sixty miles from Winchester, in the kalends of August, and in the year of the Incarnation 984, in the twenty-second of his episcopate, and under the reign of Ethelred. His body was conveyed to the church of the Apostles Peter and Paul at Winchester, and buried in

[z] "Cum in Dei magno conamine veterem renovare decrevisset ecclesiam jussit fratres frequenter laboribus una cum artificibus et operariis insistere, quibus certatim laborantibus, opus ædificii paullatim in sublime excrevit, plurimis hinc inde suffultum Oratoriis in quibus Sanctorum venerantur suffragia, cunctis fideliter accedentibus profutura. Contigit autem quadam die, dum fratres starent ad summum culmen templi cum cæmentariis, ut unus eorum Godus nomine, caderet à summis usque ad terram qui mox ut terram attigit, incolumis surgens stetit, nil mali passus de tanta ruina: seque crucis signaculo benedixit, admirans quid ibi ageret, vel qualiter illuc venerit. Et cunctis qui aderant videntibus ascendit ad locum ubi antea steterat et accipiens trullam, operi quod inchoaverat, diligentius insistebat. Cui ergo hoc miraculum adscribendum est, nisi illi, cujus jussu ad opus obedientiæ exivit? qui idcirco lædi non potuit, quia hunc in casu suo viri Dei meritum portavit, et a periculo ruinæ incolumem protexit." Wolstan. p. 619.

[a] Wolstan, p. 621; and Rudborne, p. 223.

[b] "Ecclesiam Wintanam de novo renovavit criptas in ipsa ordinans dedicarique eam fecit in honore apostolorum Petri et Pauli anno primo Etheldredi regis ipso rege presente cum proceribus et ducibus tocius regni officium dedicationis dedicante Dunstano archiepiscopo cum octo episcopis anno gratiæ DCCCCLXXX sub die xiii Kalendarium Novembrium quorum nomina sunt hec ut recitat Lantfredus in libro fundamenti metro quarto. Et etiam Vigilantius in libro de Basilica Petri, cap. 14. Ipse sanctus Athelwoldus (1.) Sigericus, (2.) Elstanus, (3.) Elphegus, (4.) Erbnithus, (5.) Wlfius, (6.) Elfricus."—John of Exeter, f. 4. b.

the crypt on the south side of the holy altar[c]. But twelve years afterwards, his successor Elphege (the same who became archbishop of Canterbury, and was slain by the Danes) was induced, by miracles, to translate the body of Athelwold, and place it in the choir of the church. This was performed on the fourth idus of September[d].

15. The poetical description which Wolstan has given us of the church and monastery of Winchester at this period is so curious, that it will be necessary to analyse it, and translate those portions that really afford information of the kind that may be useful for our present purpose. The greatest part of it consists of inflated and pompous expatiation upon the wondrous qualities of the work, or of the persons engaged upon it. About seventy lines of it occur in the life of St. Athelwold. But the entire work is a poem of three hundred and thirty lines, in the form of an epistle to the Bishop Elphege, who succeeded to St. Athelwold. As the work of a cotemporary writer its information is highly valuable[e].

16. The poem opens with a long exordium addressed to the Bishop Elphege, in which, after telling him how highly the monastery is graced by his worth, and exalted by the various ornaments which he has bestowed upon it within and without, it proceeds to state that the said monastery had been rebuilt or renovated by his predecessor Athelwold:—

"He built all these dwelling places with strong walls. He covered them with roofs, and clothed them with beauty. He brought hither sweet floods of water abounding with fish; the runnings off of the pond penetrate all the recesses of the buildings, and gently murmuring cleanse the whole cenobium[f].

"He repaired the courts (atria) of that old temple with lofty walls and

[c] "Sepultus est in crypta ad australem plagam sancti altaris." (Wolstan, p. 623.) "..... summi altaris." (John of Exeter, f. 4. b.)

[d] Wolstan, p. 624. See also Rudborne, p. 223; and Malmsb. de gest. Pont., p. 245.

[e] The poem in its first form is printed in Wolstan's Life of St. Ethelwold, by Mabillon, (A. S^m. Ord^s. Ben., tom. v. p. 621), and in its complete form in the same volume, p. 628. There is a manuscript copy of the latter in the British Museum. Bib. Reg. 15. c. vii. p. 243. Plut. xvi. G.

[f] Milner quotes these lines of Wolstan on the aqueduct, and adds the following quotation from Richardson's edition of Godwin, "de Presulibus Angliæ." This editor had the use of some manuscript notes of Antony Wood, who unfortunately does not quote his authorities, although it appears from coincident passages that he employed the All Souls manuscript of John of Exeter. "In tantum dilexit (Athelwoldus) urbem Wentanam, quod aquam currentem suo studio et labore sumptibusque largifluis benignissime introduxit." He adds that Athelwold made different canals, one of which begins near the village of Worthy, and thus distributed the water, at great toil and expense, throughout the city, and that Wolstan's lines refer to that part of the river which is called the Lock Pond, which still runs through the close. (Milner, vol. i. p. 161.)

new roofs; and strengthened it on the north sides and on the south sides with solid aisles (porticibus) and various arches.

"He added also many chapels, with sacred altars, that distract attention from the threshold of the church, so that a stranger walking in the courts is at a loss where to turn, seeing on all sides doors open to him without any certain path. He stands with wondering eyes, fascinated with the fine roofs of the intricate structure, until some experienced guide conducts him to the portals of the farthest vestibule. Here, marvelling, he crosses himself, and knows not how to quit, so dazzling is the construction, and so brilliant the variety of the fabric that sustains this ancient church, which that devout father himself strengthened, roofed, endowed and dedicated."

About fifty lines are now given to the dedication of the church, and the prodigious feasting, the eating and drinking, which accompanied it. King Ethelred, and nine bishops, whose names are enumerated[g], were present. In the first copy of the poem a tenth bishop, *Poca*, is added, who is said upon this occasion to have done little and drank much.

"Et tandem decimus Poca venit Episcopus illuc
Nulla laboris agens, pocula multa bibens." Mab. 622.

Most of the nobility of England were present, and such a dedication had never been seen in the land as that which now was celebrated in the old monastery of St. Peter at Winton[h].

[g] Vide note to article 17.

[h] . . . . . ovans Antistes AÐELUUOLD, ...
Qui struxit firmis hæc cuncta habitacula muris
Ille etiam tectis texit et ipsa novis
Et cunctis decoravit ovans id honoribus, hucque
Dulcia piscose flumina traxit aquæ
Secessusque laci penetrant secreta domorum
Mundantes totum murmure cœnobium.

The above lines occur only in the second form of the poem; the following are common to the two copies.

Istius antiqui reparavit et atria templi
Mœnibus excelsis culminibusque novis.
Partibus hoc Austri firmans et partibus Arcti
Porticibus solidis, arcubus et variis.
Addidit et plures sacris altaribus ædes
Quæ retinent dubium liminis introitum.
Quisquis ut ignotis deambulat atria plantis
Nesciat unde meat, quovè pedem referat
Omni parte fores quia conspiciuntur aperta
Nec patet ulla sibi semita certa viæ
Huc illucque vagos stans circumducit ocellos
Attica Dedalei tecta stupetque soli
Certior adveniat donec sibi ductor et ipsum
Ducat ad extremi limina vestibuli
Hic secum mirans cruce se consignat et unde
Exeat, attonito pectore scire nequit
Sic constructa micat sic et variata coruscat
Machina quæ { veterem / hanc matrem } sustinet ecclesiam
Quam pater ille pius summa pietate refertus
Nominis ad laudem celsitonantis Heri

17. With the dedication of the church the first copy of the poem (in the life of St. Athelwold) closes, but in the second copy, which, as above mentioned, is addressed in the form of an epistle to Bishop Elphege, more than two hundred lines are added in description of the works which that bishop carried on to complete his predecessor's plan.

[i] "Thus the inspired bishop (Athelwold) fulfilled before the Lord many vows. For he laid a foundation eastward, so that an apse (porticus) might there be built to the Deity. And having laid a foundation he erected a new temple, but being removed from this world was unable to complete it." "You" (Elphege, his successor) "have diligently carried on the work commenced. Above all, you have taken care to add the secret crypts, which subtle ingenuity had so contrived, that whoever entered them for the first time would be at a loss which way to turn. Within, secret recesses lie on every side; their outer covering is manifest, but their caves within are hidden. Their entrances and exits stand open, but a stranger looking in (from without) sees only darkness and shadow, although they really receive a borrowed light from the sun."—"Their structure supports the holy altar and the venerable relics of the saints, and in many ways their upper surface is useful, bearing things without, and covering those that are within. Moreover, you have here constructed such organs that the like were never seen."

Fulcivit, texit, / Fundavit, struxit } dotavit { eamque / et inde. } sacravit.

In this and the former line the upper readings belong to the first form of the poem, and the lower readings to the latter form. It is remarkable that in the first, the expressions used describe the repair of an old church, and in the second, they imply the building of a new one. The first is, probably, nearest to the truth.

[i] His super Antistes (sc. Athelwold), sacro spiramine plenus
Adhibuit Domino plurima vota suo
Nam fundamen ovans à cardine jecit eoi
Porticus ut staret ædificata Deo.
Erexitque novum jacto fundamine templum
Ne tamen expleret raptus ab orbe fuit.
. . . .
Vestra cui statim successit in arce potestas
Et cœptum vigili pectore struxit opus
Insuper occultas studuistis et addere criptas
Quas sic dedaleum struxerat ingenium
Quisquis ut ignotus veniens intraverat illas
Nesciat unde meat, quovè pedem referat.
Sunt quibus occultæ latitant quæ hinc inde latebræ
Quarum tecta patent, intus et antra latent
Introitus quarum stat apertus et exitus harum
Quas homo qui ignorat luce carere putat
Nocte sub obscurâ quæ stare videntur et umbræ
Sed tamen occulti lumina solis habent.
. . . .
Machina stet quarum, sacram subportat et aram
Sanctorum pias ordine reliquias
Multiplicique modo manet utile culmen earum
Exteriora gerens, interiora tegens.
Talia et auxistis hîc Organa, qualia nusquam
Cernuntur, ...

Thirty lines are now given to a most curious description of the organs, which, however, not being to our present purpose, I shall pass over[k].

[l] "Moreover you have added a lofty temple, in which continual day remains, without night," (to wit,) "a sparkling tower that reflects from heaven the first rays of the rising sun. It has five compartments pierced by open windows, and on all four sides as many ways are open. The lofty peaks of the tower are capped with pointed roofs, and are adorned with various and sinuous vaults, curved with well-skilled contrivance." "Above these stands a rod with golden balls, and at the top a mighty golden cock which boldly turns its face to every wind that blows."

No less than twenty-six lines are bestowed upon the conceits that this last contrivance suggests, and then we come to another dedication at which eight bishops, including Elphegus himself, were present[m]. The king, however, is not mentioned.

[k] See "Essai sur les Instruments de Musique au Moyen Age," by Coussemaker, in the *Annales Archéologiques*, tom. iv. p. 25, tom. iii. p. 281.

[l] Insuper excelsum fecistis et addere templum
Quo sine nocte manet continuata dies
Turris ab axe micat, quo sol oriendo coruscat
Et spargit lucis spicula prima suæ.
Quinque tenet patulis segmenta oculata fenestris
Per quadrasque plagas pandit ubique vias
Stant excelsa tholis rostrata cacumina turris
Fornicibus variis et sinuata micant.
Quæ sic ingenium docuit curvare perituum
Quod solet in pulcris addere pulcra locis
Stat super auratis virgæ fabricatio bullis
Aureus et totum splendor adornat opus.
. . . .
Additur ad specimen stat ei quod vertice gallus
Aureus ornatu grandis et intuitu
. . . .
Impiger imbriferos qui suscipit undique ventos
Seque rotando suam præbet eis faciem.

[m] In describing the two dedications of the church Wolstan enumerates the names of the bishops, but does not mention their sees. It is no small confirmation of his accuracy that they may be nearly all identified. The bishops who attended the first dedication in the time of Ethelwold were, (1.) Dunstan, (2.) Athelwold, (3.) Ælfstan, (4.) Ælfstan, (5.) Æthelgar, (6.) Æscwig, (7.) Ælfheah, (8.) Æthelsin, (9.) Adulfus, (10.) Poca. Those who were present at the second dedication were (11.) Sigericus, (12.) Ælfstan, (13.) Ælfstan, (14.) Ælfheab, (15.) Ordbirht, (16.) Vulfsin, (17.) Ælfric, (18.) Elphegus.

The kindness of John M. Kemble, Esq. has furnished me with the following comments upon these lists. In the year 980, when the first dedication took place, the several sees in England were filled as shewn in the first column of the table below. There is no room therefore for (10.) Poca, and one of three suppositions only is possible; (1.) that he was a chorepiscopus to some other bishop, (2.) that the name is a nickname for some other; Poca, i.e. Pitted with the small pox, (3.) that he was the Cornish bishop either really succeeding Wulfsige, whose name vanishes from my list in 980, or administering as chorepiscopus for him. From the list of bishops given as present at the second dedication, it may be inferred that it took place between the years 993 and 995, in the first of which years Wulfsige became bishop of Sherborne, and in the last of which Sigeric died. Indeed but for a slight uncertainty about Ælfstan of Rochester, who may have lived over 993, one would conclude that the dedication took place in

The church was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, as especial patrons. The remainder of the poem is principally devoted to the merits of the saints whose relics are there preserved, and similar topics[n].

that year. The three latter columns of the table contain all the bishops that were living in the years 993, 994, 995. The death of Ælfstan, and consecration of Godwine, are not quite certain.

	980.	993.	994.	995.
Cantuar.	Dunstan (1)	Sigeric (11)	Sigeric	Sigeric
Licetf.	Ælfheah (7)	Ælfheah (14)	Ælfheah	Ælfheah
Legorac.	Æscwig (6)	Æscwig	Æscwig	Æscwig
Wigorn.	Oswald	Ealdwulf	Ealdwulf	Ealdwulf
Hereford	Aðulf	Aðulf	Aðulf	Aðulf
Elmham.	Ðeodred	Ðeodred	Ðeodred	? vac.
Scireburn.	Æðelsige (8)	Wulfsige (16)	Wulfsige	Wulfsige
Winton.	Æðelwold (2)	Ælfheah (18)	Ælfheah	Ælfheah
Selesiens.	Æðelgar (5)	Ordbriht (15)	Ordbriht	Ordbriht
Londin.	Ælfstan (3)	Ælfstan (13)	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
Roffens.	Ælfstan (4)	Ælfstan (12)	? vac.	Godwine
Cridiat.	Ælfric	Ælfwold	Ælfwold	Ælfwold
Ramsbur.	Ælfstan	Ælfric (17)	Ælfric	Ælfric
Fontan.	Sigegar	Sigegar	Sigegar	Sigegar
Eborac.	Oswald	. . . vac. . . .	. . . vac. . . .	Ealdwulf
Lindisf.	Ælfsige	Aldwine	Aldwine	Aldwine
Cornub.	Wulfsige	Ealdred	Ealdred	Ealdred

The list given by John of Exeter (see note c to art. 14) is apparently erroneous, but was probably taken from better authorities. The following prelates may be meant: (1.) *Sigegar. Fontan:* for Sigeric bishop of Ramsbury was not elected till after Æthelwold's death. (2.) *Ælfstan. Lond. Roff. or Ramsb.* all three being alive together. (3.) *Ælfheah Licetf.* (4.) *Ordbriht. Seles.* If not Ordbriht there is no other possible. No such name occurs for several years before or after. But if Ordbriht, then a total blunder, for Ordbriht was not elected till 990, after Dunstan's death. (5.) *Wulfsige Cornub.* (6.) *Ælfric. Crediat.*

[n] From this description it appears that Athelwold rebuilt the monastery as well as the church, and that he was prevented by death from finishing the latter. The crypts were apparently planned, but not executed, during his life, and the line which Milner quotes from Wolstan, and everybody copies from Milner, to prove that Athelwold built the crypts, "Insuper occultas studuistis et addere cryptas," really proves the reverse, and at the same time I am afraid it proves that none of these writers have taken the trouble to go through Wolstan's poem. As the altar stood in the usual manner upon the pavement that surmounted the crypt, it seems that the first dedication of the church took place before even this altar was located, unless indeed we suppose that the crypt was altogether a change of plan after the dedication. When the church was completed, it was dedicated over again. From the description (or rather allusion to) the courts (atria) which the stranger had to pass before he could enter, we learn that there must have been a court of entrance, or western cloister, like those of the well-known early Christian basilicas. It seems too that there were chapels disposed even about this court, of which we have an example in the ancient plan of the monastery of St. Gall. In the church which existed before this of Athelwold, the description of the tomb of Swithun implies that a tower gateway stood before the western entrance, and that the tomb was placed in a similar court in the open air, so that all who entered the church should trample over it. The church had north and south aisles, an eastern apse, and the crypt was probably confined to that apse, as usual in buildings of that age. There were chapels in abundance, to judge from the poem, as well as from the anecdote in (13). The tower which Elphege added stood on four open arches, had five stories with open windows, spiral

18. It appears that Winchester happily escaped the ravages of the Danes at the end of the tenth century. King Canute was a great benefactor to this church, as to many others, and it is said that after the well-known reproof to his courtiers on the sea shore at Southampton, he declined to wear his crown in future, and actually placed it on the head of the crucified image which stood before the high altar of the cathedral of Winchester[o]. He gave also lands called Hille, a large *feretrum* for the relics of St. Birinus, a silver candelabrum with six branches, such as are now counted most valuable when only made of brass, and two bells[p]. He was buried in the old monastery at Wynton in regal fashion (A.D. 1035). Alwyn, bishop of Winchester, died in 1047, and was first buried in the crypt on the south side of the high altar, but is now (says John of Exeter) placed in a leaden sarcophagus above the door of that crypt on the left hand[q]. Bishop Stigand, out of the gifts of Queen Emma, constructed a great cross with two images of Mary and John, which he gave to Winchester church, together with a beam amply covered with gold and silver. It was placed in the rood-loft (pulpitum). He was buried in the year 1069 at Winchester, in a leaden sarcophagus, on the south side of the high altar[r].

staircase vaults, and at each angle, as I understand the description, there was a pointed pinnacle, with balls, a common decoration in ancient drawings. The mighty weathercock surmounts the whole. But like all descriptions of buildings this is very obscure, and its obscurity is increased by the poetical form. After all it admits of being read in various ways, and can only be understood by comparison with cotemporary descriptions and buildings. As most of the early bishops are said to have been buried in the crypt, it does not appear certain that Athelwold gave crypts for the first time to this church.

The line in Wolstan which tells us that Elphege added the crypts to Athelwold's church, seems to have been understood by late writers to mean that Athelwold added crypts to a church that never had them before.

[o] "Rex quoque deinceps Cnuto nunquam coronam portavit sed coronam suam super caput imaginis crucifixi quæ stat in fronte summi altaris in ecclesiâ cathedrali Wyntoniæ, componens, magnum regibus futuris præbuit humilitatis exemplum ut scribit auctor in Concordantiis Historiarum sub literâ K;" Rudborne, 233. "Apud Wyntoniam in veteri monasterio sepelitur more regio." Rudb., 235.

[p] "Anno MXXXV rex Canutus dedit Wintoniensi ecclesiæ terram trium hidarum quæ vocatur Hille et feretrum ad reliquias S. Birini magnum et magni et candelabrum argenteum cum vi brachiis, qualia modò in ecclesiis videmus pretiosissima de aurichalco, et II signa; et in eadem ecclesiâ sepultus est."—Annales, Ecc. Wint., 290.

[q] "Alwynus . . . sepultus fuit primitus in cripta ex parte australi summi altaris, modo vero ponitur in sarcofago plumbeo super ostium illius cripte ex parte sinistra."—John of Exeter, f. 4. 6.

[r] "Stigandus qui magnam crucem ex argento cum ymaginibus argenteis in pulpito ecclesie contulit, sedit annis xxx et jacet in sarcofago plumbeo ex australi parte summi altaris juxta cathedram episcopalem." (John of Exeter, f. 5.) (Ang. Sac., tom. i. p. 285.) "Stigandus . . . de donis Emmæ reginæ condidit magnam crucem cum duabus imaginibus, sc. Mariæ et Johannis; et illas cum trabe vestitas auro et argento copiosè dedit Wintoniensi ecclesiæ." Annales, 293. Rudborne seems to refer to the same cross when he says, on

19. Walkelin, the first bishop of Winchester after the Norman Conquest, was appointed to that see in the year 1070. He was a Norman by birth, and related to the Conqueror. His brother Simeon was first made prior of Winchester and then abbot of Ely (A.D. 1082)[s].

In the year 1079, Bishop Walkelin began to rebuild the church of Winton from the foundations[t]; and (in 1086) the king was induced to grant him, for the completion of the church which he had begun, as much wood from the forest of Hanepinges[u] as his carpenters could take in four days and nights. But the bishop collected an innumerable troop of carpenters, and within the assigned time cut down the whole wood, and carried it off to Winchester. Presently after, the king passing by Hanepinges, was struck with amazement, and cried out, Am I bewitched? or have I taken leave of my senses? Had I not once a most delectable wood in this spot? But when he understood the truth, he was violently enraged. Then the bishop put on a shabby vestment, and made his way to the king's feet, humbly begging to resign the episcopate, and merely requesting that he might retain his royal friendship and chaplaincy. And the king was appeased, only observing, "I was as much too liberal in my grant as you were too greedy in availing yourself of it."

20. In the year 1093, in the presence of nearly all the bishops and abbots of England, the monks removed from the old church (*monasterium*) of Winchester to the new one, with great rejoicing and glory, on the sixth idus of April[x] (April 8). And on the feast of Swithun (July 15) they made a procession from the new church to the old, and brought thence the *feretrum* of St. Swithun, which they placed with all honour in the new church. And on the following day the bishop's men first began to pull down the old church, and it was all pulled down in that year except one apse (porticus) and the great

the authority of the author "de Concordantiis," that King William gave to the church of Winton, for the soul of Stigand, a great silver cross with two images, which he had found in the bishop's treasury after his death, and that this was all he gave them out of the treasures he found there. (p. 250.)

[s] Annales, Ecc. Wint., p. 294. Rudborne, pp. 255, 256.

[t] "Anno MLXXIX Walkelinus episcopus à fundamentis Wintoniensem cœpit re-ædificare ecclesiam." (Annales, p. 294.)

[u] "Fertur regem concessisse episcopo Walkelino ad perficiendam ecclesiam quam inchoaverat Wintoniensem tantum lignorum de Hanepinges, &c. . . . ."—Annales, p. 295. This is now called Hempage wood, three miles from the city on the road to Alresford. (Milner, 194.)

[x] Probably chosen because it was the day of St. Duvianus, who baptized King Lucius.

altar[y]. In the next year, 1094, relics of St. Swithun and of many other saints were found under the altar of the old church[z].

21. The venerable Walkelin, of pious memory, died in the year 1098. He greatly improved the church of Winton in devotion, in the number of its monks, and in the buildings of the house[a]. He caused the tower of Winton church to be made as it is still to be seen[b], and rebuilt it, with its four columns, from the foundations in the middle of the choir[c]. His venerable body is buried in the nave of the church, before the steps under the rood-loft (pulpitum), in which stands the silver cross of Stigand, with the two great silver images; and he lies at the feet of William Gyffard, bishop of Winchester, having over him a marble stone, with these verses engraved thereon:

> "Præsul Walklynus istic requiescit humatus
> Tempore Willelmi Conquestoris cathedratus[d]."

22. When King William Rufus was slain by the arrow of Walter Tirrel in the New Forest, (A.D. 1100,) his body was brought to Winchester, and buried in the cathedral church, in the middle of the choir[e]. It was laid in the ground within the limits of the tower, in the presence of many nobles, but with the tears of few. Some years afterwards (namely, in the year 1107[f]) the tower fell, which many thought to have been a judgment for his sins; and because that it was a

[y] "Anno mxciij. In præsentiâ omnium ferè episcoporum atque abbatum Angliæ cum maximâ exultatione et gloriâ de veteri monasterio Wintoniensi ad novum venerunt monachi VI. idus Aprilis. Ad festum verò S. Swithuni factâ processione de novo monasterio ad vetus, tulerunt inde feretrum S. Swithuni et in novo honorificè collocaverunt. Sequenti die verò Domini Walkelini episcopi cœperunt homines primum vetus frangere monasterium; et fractum est totum in illo anno, excepto porticu uno et magno altari." Annales, p. 295.

[z] "Anno mxciv . . . . . inventæ sunt reliquiæ S. Swithuni aliorumque plurimorum sanctorem sub altari veteris monasterii." Annales, p. 295.

[a] " . . . . Ecclesiam Wintoniensem in religione et numero monachorum et in domorum ædificiis plurimum melioravit." Annales, p. 296.

[b] Walkelinus episcopus fieri fecit turrim ecclesiæ Wyntoniensis ut modo cernitur." Rudborne, p. 256.

[c] "Walkelinus nacione Normannus qui turrim in medio chori cum quatuor columpnis a fundamentis renovavit seditque xxix annis et in navi ecclesie ante gradus pulpiti jacet humatus." (John of Exeter, f. 5.) (Ang. Sacr., tom. i. p. 285.)

[d] Jacet enim ejusdem præsulis venerabile corpus humatum in navi ecclesiæ ad gradus sub pulpito in quo erigitur crux argentea magna Stigandi archiepiscopi cum duabus imaginibus argenteis magnis, ad pedes viz. Willelmi Gyffard quondam Wyntoniensi episcopi; et in lapide marmoreo superposito sculpuntur hi versus; Præsul, &c. . . ." (Rudborne, p. 256.)

[e] "Tandem Wyntoniæ deportatur et in ecclesiâ cathedrali sepelitur in medio chori hæc Matthæus Parisiacensis de morte regis Willelmi Rufi." Rudborne, p. 270. In the printed copy of Matt. Par., however, I find no mention of the choir.

[f] "Anno MCVII. Turris ecclesiæ cecidit Nonis Octobris." Ann. Wint., p. 297.

grievous wrong to bury in that sacred place one who all his life had been profane and sensual, and who died without the Christian viaticum—thus Rudborne. Malmesbury cautiously declines to give an opinion upon this matter, because, as he says, it may have been after all that the structure would have fallen from the instability of its workmanship, whether the body had been buried there or not[g].

23. "But now (says Rudborne) an apparent contradiction arises, for it is written in the archives of the church of Wynton, that Bishop Walkelin built the tower in question. But he died in the eleventh year of King Rufus, (about two years before that monarch;) and the tower does not appear to have fallen after it was erected by Walkelin; it is of the strongest construction, and is to this day, in the opinion of masons, the very firmest of this kind of tower in all England. The answer to this is, that the truth of those who say that the tower fell for the sins of Rufus, is thus to be explained. That Walkelyn did not build the tower during his life, but that after his death the old tower of the church having fallen after the king was buried within it, it was rebuilt out of the great funds which Walkelyn left to this church. And that as it was built with his money, although after his death, yet his name was associated with it as the founder. This is the opinion of the author of the Concordance of English History, under the letter V,

[g] "Pauci rusticanorum cadaver in rheda caballaria compositum Wintoniam in episcopatum devexere, cruore undatim per totam viam stillante. Ibi infra ambitum turris multorum procerum conventu paucorum planctu terræ traditum. Secuta est posteriora anno ruina turris, de qua re, quæ opiniones fuerint, parco dicere, ne videar nudis nugis magis credere; præsertim cum pro instabilitate operis machina ruinam fecisse potuisset, etiamsi ipse nunquam ibi sepultus fuisset." Will. Malms., p. 126.

"Neque defuêre opiniones quorundam dicentium, ruinam turris quæ posterioribus annis accidit, peccatis illius contigisse; quod injuria fuerit illum sancto tumulari loco, qui tota vitâ petulans et lubricus, moriens etiam Christiano caruerit viatico. Sed videtur quòd hîc contrarietus possit oriri; ut enim habetur in scriptis Wyntoniensi ecclesiæ, Walkelinus episcopus Wyntoniæ turrim illam fabricavit, qui anno undecimo Wilhelmi regis Rufi obiit, et non invenitur post illam fabricationem quæ facta est per Walkelinum, turrim illam cecidisse; quia fortissima turris facta est et adhuc extat secundum latomos firmissima inter omnes hujusmodi turres in regno Angliæ. Ad istud respondendum est; quod veritas taliter opinantium, quòd pro peccatis Wilhelmi regis Rufi eo ibidem sepulto turris ipsa cecidit, habetur isto modo, Walkelynus ejusdem sedis episcopus in vitâ suâ turrim ipsam non fecit fieri, sed post ipsius mortem antiquâ turri ipsius ecclesiæ, sepulto in eâ Wilhelmo rege Rufo, cadente, de maximâ quantitate sive summâ pecuniæ quam Walkelynus præsul suæ ecclesiæ legavit in suo decessu ad ejusdem ecclesiæ necessaria providenda, sufficiens portio sumpta est pro sumptibus ad novam turrim fabricandam. Et quia de bonis ipsius Walkelyni fabricata est quamvis post mortem ejus; tamen nomen fundatoris ipsius turris, sicut dignum est, sibi retinet; quæ turris usque hodie firmissime stat. Istud est dictum auctoris de Concordantiis Historiarum Angliæ sub litera V. Ipse enim auctor multa scribit de ecclesiâ Wyntoniensi in qua quondam nutritus erat." Rudborne, p. 271.

who wrote much concerning the church of Winchester, in which he had been educated." I shall discuss this opinion in the next chapter, after describing the present state of the tower and adjacent parts of the church.

24. In the year 1111 the relics of St. Athelwold were taken from the old feretrum and placed in a new one, in presence of the queen, and of three bishops, and five abbots[h]. And in 1150 the relics of the holy confessors Birinus, Swithun, Edda, Birstan, and Elfege, were translated[i].

But in the time of Henry de Blois, who held this see from 1129 to 1171, there appears from the several passages that follow to have been a general translation of the bodies of the old kings and bishops, probably from the site of the old Saxon crypt. "The Christian kings of the West Saxons buried in the church of Wynton were Kyngils, Kynewald his son, who completed the work of the church which his father began, and was buried under (or before) the high altar, Estuin, Kentwyn, Athellard, brother of Queen Fretheswythe, and Kenulph, whose bodies were buried together in the eastern crypt, as Vigilantius recordeth in his 'Basilica Petri.' Afterwards, in the days of Henry of Blois, these were translated, but not knowing which were kings and which were bishops, because there were no inscriptions over the monuments, the aforesaid Henry placed in leaden sarcofagi kings and bishops, bishops and kings, all mixed together, as it is recorded in the book of the acts of Bishops William and Henry, by Robert, prior of Winton[k]."

[h] "Anno MCXI .... depositæ sunt Reliquiæ S. Adelwoldi de veteri feretro et impositæ in novo. Interfuit autem regina et tres episcopi et quinque abbates." Ann. Wint. 297.

[i] "Anno MCL translatæ sunt Reliquiæ Sanctorum Confessorum Birini, Swithuni, Æddæ, Bristani, Elphegi." Ann. Wint. 300.

[k] John of Exeter, from whom I have copied the above, also gives the names of the Saxon pagan kings who were buried in the church, when it was a temple of Dagon; but with considerable poetry of imagination he represents their bones to have been consumed by the burning words of Birinus, when he consecrated the church. I have inserted the whole passage below.

"Ex regno Westsaxonum quod Gewyseorum dicitur plurimi reges ac in armis principes strenui processerunt de quorum numero quinque reges pagani dummodo templum esset Dagon quod modo dicitur vetus cœnobium consepulti sunt, Cerdicius, Cenricius, Cedulinus, Celricius, Ceowlphus; qui omnes ut scribit Gerardus Cornubiensis de gestis regum Westsaxonum *cap. sexto.* Dum beatus Birinus primus Anglie et Gewyseorum apostolus, ministeria dedicationis ecclesie Wentane rite perageret subito voces lamentantium gementiumque audite sunt clamantes, Ve nobis, Ve nobis, Ve nobis, quod prodest esse princeps ac dominus orbis et in inferno ad ultimum sine fine concremari. Ecce verba sancti Birini ossa nostra incendunt et in pulverem redigunt; superque hiis locis sepulchrorum perscrutatis nulla vestigia sepultorum visa sunt. Corpora vero Christianorum regum Westsaxonum ante monarchiam sepulta in Wentana ecclesia hec sunt, Kyngilsus qui Chylcombe dedit, Kynewaldus filius Kyngilsi qui opus ecclesie a patre inceptum complevit et tria maneria

"Matilda queen of England, commonly called Molde the good Queen, died in 1118, and was buried at Winchester in the old monastery, where this epitaph is to be seen on a marble stone over the place of her burial in the eastern crypt. 'Here lieth Matilda the Queen, daughter of Margaret Queen of Scotland, and wife of King Henry the First, called by the English Molde the good Queen.' Nevertheless, in certain other monasteries of England a tomb may be seen to her as if she were buried there, although her true place of sepulture is in the old monastery of Winton. Her bones, however, were translated by Henry of Blois, and placed in a leaden sarcophagus, together with those of the noble Queen Frytheswyda, the mother of St. Frytheswyda, over the place which is called *The Holy Hole*." Moreover, "Edmund, the first-born of King Alfred, was buried in the old monastery of Wynton, as appears from the marble stone of his tomb, which lies still on the north of the altar where matutinal or capitular mass is celebrated. And the epitaph written thereon is *Here lieth Edmund the King, son of King Aldred.* But his bones are now translated to a certain sarcophagus placed over the *Holy Hole*, as it is written in the book of the acts of the Bishops William and Henry[1]."

eidem ecclesie dedit, viz., Donnton Alresford et Wordiam qui sepultus est sub summo altari. Estuini, Kentwyni, Athellardique fratris Fretheswythe regine, Kenulphi, quorum corpora consepulta erant in orientali cripta ut scribit Vigilantius de bas[a]. Petri, c. vi. sed postmodum tempore Henrici Blesensi translata sunt et propter ignoranciam qui essent reges et qui essent episcopi et quod non erant tituli inscripti supra monumenta eorum predictus Henricus posuit in sarcofagis plumbeis reges cum episcopis et episcopos cum regibus sic permixtos ut habetur in quodam libello Roberti prioris Wintoniensis et postmodum Glastoniensis abbatis de actibus Willelmi et Henrici episcoporum." (John of Exeter, f. 5. b.) Rudborne, p. 194, has also quoted the last passage concerning Henry of Blois.

[1] "Ao. Dⁱ. MCXVIII. et anno regni Regis Henrici primi nono decimo obiit Matildis Regina Anglie. Anglice usque in hodiernum diem appellata Molde the good Quene; et secundum auctorem in Flores Historiarum Wyntoniæ in Veteri Monasterio sepulta est et idem habetur in scriptis ejusdem monasterii. Nam habetur consimile epitaphium ejusdam in quodam lapide marmoreo posito super locum sepulturæ ipsius Reginæ in cryptâ orientali *Hic jacet Matildis Regina filia Margaretæ Reginæ Scotiæ et uxor Regis Henrici primi, ab Anglis vocata,* Molde the good Queen. Attamen in quibusdam monasteriis Angliæ fit tumba ipsius, ac si ibidem jaceret; sed in rei veritate sepulturæ locum habuit in prædicto Veteri Cenobio Wyntoniæ. Cujus sanctissimæ regina ossa modo per Henricum Blesensem et fratrem Regis Stephani ac nepotem hujus Regis Henrici primi ex sorore Adalâ translata sunt, et posita in sarcophago plumbeo cum ossibus nobilissimæ Frytheswydæ reginæ matris sanctæ Frytheswydæ virginis supra locum vocatum, The Holy Hole." (Rudborne, p. 276.) "(Edmundus filius primogenitus Alfredi regis) ..... in veteri monasterio Wyntoniensi sepelitur; ut satis clarè patet intuentibus lapidem marmoreum tumbæ ipsius qui jacet adhuc in terrâ ex boreali parte altaris ubi missa matutinalis sive capitularis celebratur. Et est epitaphium in marmore scriptum istud; *Hic jacet Edmundus Rex filius Aldredi Regis* ..... Ossa vero Edmundi regis jam translata sunt in quoddam sarcophagum locatum super locum nuncupatum The Holy Hole:

CHAPTER II.

ON THE CRYPTS AND TRANSEPTS.

Having in the last chapter brought down the history of the building to the end of the twelfth century, it is time to compare it with the building itself. The present cathedral is in the form of a cross. The transepts, of a rude and plain Norman, manifest themselves at first sight as the oldest part of the edifice. A central tower, also Norman, stands upon four piers of great and unusual magnitude, and of singularly close jointed masonry. A superficial examination is sufficient to shew that this tower is of subsequent workmanship to the transepts. The eastern arm of the cross is of a mixed work, including portions of Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular; the eastern extremity is bounded by a high gable, and beyond this is a low Early English structure, which consists of three aisles of nearly equal height, each of which terminates eastward in a chapel. The central one of these chapels, known as the Lady-chapel, is Early English in its western compartment, but has received an elongation of Perpendicular work, which is the most easterly part of the whole church. Beneath the eastern arm of the cross are crypts of the same rude Norman work as the transepts. They (like many others) serve to shew us the original plan of the Norman church, and it thus appears that its presbytery was terminated eastward by a round apse, at the point where now the flat Perpendicular gable stands.

The aisles of the Norman presbytery were continued round this apse, and a small round-ended (Lady-?)chapel extended as far as the western arch of the present one; also two small eastern towers flanked the apse of the presbytery. A crypt seems to have been also erected under the Early English Lady-chapel, but the crypt of the Perpendicular addition to this chapel is extended westward, and thus occupies a greater space in that direction than the Perpendicular compartment above it, by which means its vault intrudes upon and cuts off the original Early English vault, the remains of which, denuded

ut invenitur in quodam Libello Roberti quondam hujus ecclesiæ præpositi postmodum abbatis Westmonasterii de *gestis Wilhelmi et Henrici Pontificum.*" (Rudborne, p. 207.)

of ribs, which now lie between the end of the Norman Lady-chapel crypt, and the later Perpendicular crypt, have induced some observers to believe that they had found traces of a very ancient building indeed.

The nave, or western arm of the cross, was originally Norman, and is now early Perpendicular; the transformation from one style to the other, for it was not rebuilt, presents one of the most curious studies imaginable. The present western termination is a flat front, but from foundations that still exist, and have been excavated and examined in the last year, it appears that the Norman cathedral extended about forty feet farther westward, and had enormous western towers. I will now proceed to examine the different parts, thus concisely indicated, in detail.

The general style of the transepts may be understood from

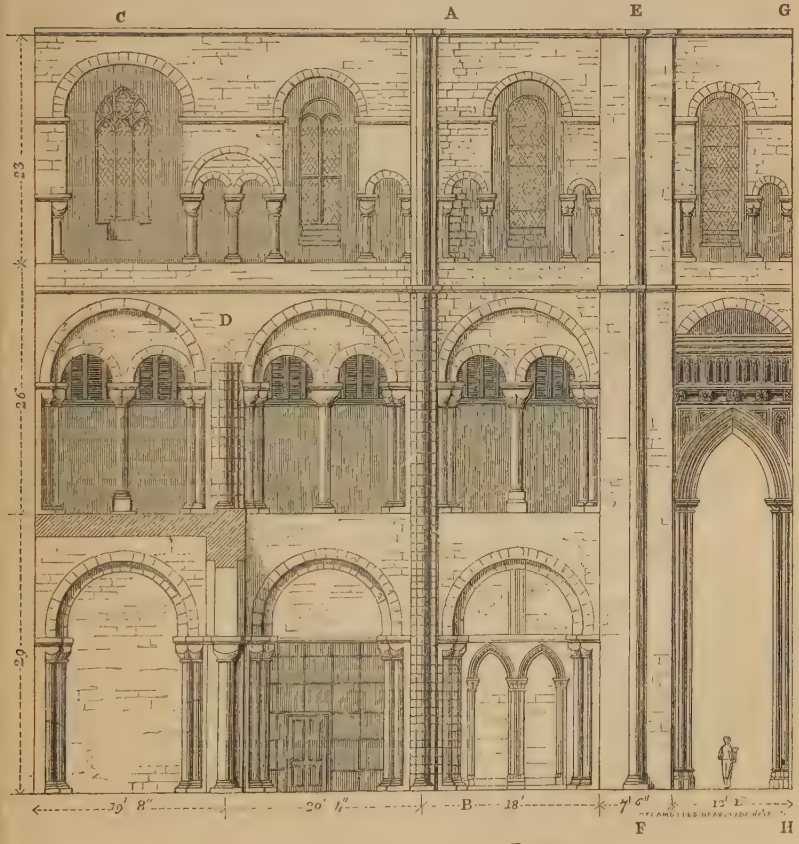


Fig 1 West Elevation of South Transept.

the elevation, fig. 1. This represents the western wall of the south transept. The architecture is of the plainest description. The compartment of the triforium is very nearly of the same height as that of the pier-arches, and the clerestory is also nearly the same height. In this respect the distribution of Winchester resembles that of Ely, Peterborough, and Norwich, and the actual altitude of the walls in the three first examples are very nearly the same, being 75 ft., 72 ft., 76 ft. respectively, but Norwich is only 64 ft. At Winchester each pier-arch is formed of two orders or courses of voussoirs, the edges of which are left square, wholly undecorated by moldings. This is the case with the pier-arches of Ely transept, but in the arches of the triforium of Ely, and in every other Norman part of that cathedral and of the other two above cited, the edges of the voussoirs are richly molded. In Winchester transept, on the contrary, the arches of the triforium and clerestory are square edged like those of the pier-arches below, and hence arises the peculiarly simple and massive effect of this part of the church[m].

These transepts (as at Ely) have both eastern and western aisles. Peterborough has only eastern, and Norwich none at all. But Winchester, in addition, has also at each end of the transept an aisle, which rises only to the pier-arch level, and consists of two arches only, which rest in the middle on a triple bearing-shaft instead of the compound pier, which is employed throughout the rest of the work.

This kind of gallery is not unusual in the churches of Normandy, as I have already had occasion to remark in my History of Canterbury[n], where I have shewn that it was reserved for chapels, or for the preservation of relics of peculiar sanctity. At each end of the platform above the gallery at the level of the triforium, an engaged shaft, with pier edges behind it, springs from the face of the wall, but is carried up only a little above the capitals of the triforium arches, and there terminates abruptly, as at *D* in fig. 1, and at this part of the wall the masonry is disturbed as if something had once projected from the wall and has been removed. Whether there was once an arcade across the front of the gallery, or a beam of the nature of a roodbeam, or what other contrivance, it is impossible now to say. But it is clear that the shaft in

[m] Britton, pl. 12, has an excellent perspective view of the north transepts.

[n] Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral, p. 37, note l.

question could not have been carried up to the roof like its neighbour at *A*, because the clerestory immediately over it has a pair of small open arches so placed as to make such a disposition impossible, as the figure clearly shews.

But the structure of these transepts shews that they were erected at two different periods, and that when the second erection took place changes were also introduced into the previous work. Each transept exactly resembles the other in these respects.

The vaults of the compartments *C D E F G* in the plan[o]

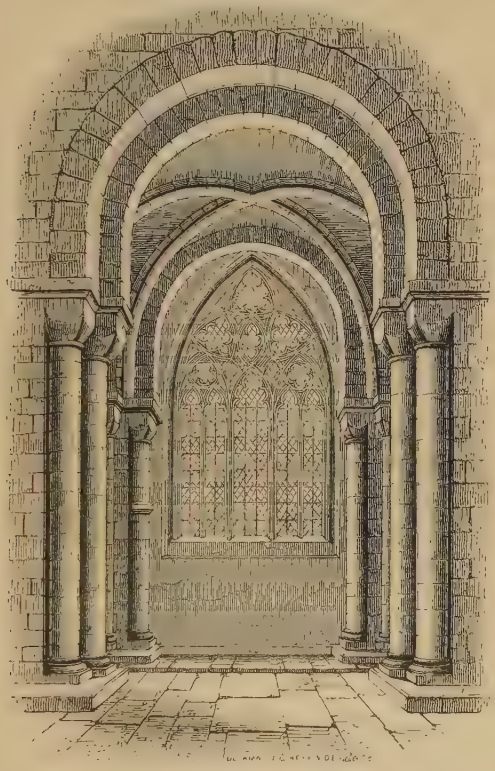
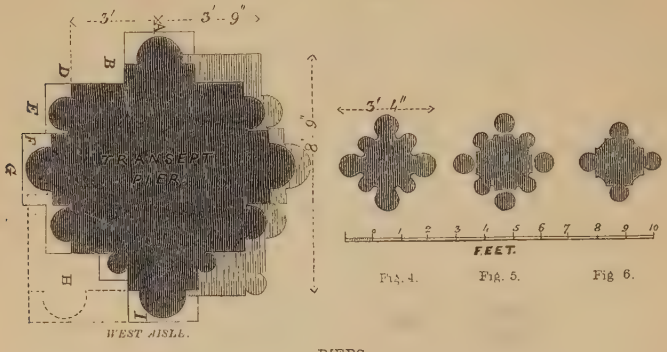


Fig 2 One Bay of North Transept.

are plain groined vaults. But those of the eastern compartments, *H, I, K,* are ribbed; one of these compartments is shewn in fig. 2. The Decorated window is a manifest insertion of later times. Now the general and original plan of

[o] The general plan of the cathedral will be found at the end of the paper.

the transept piers is that shewn in the darker tint of fig. 3, and the piers *d* and *k* of the general plan remain in this state. But



the pier *m* has received a subsequent addition to its north-western angle, which changes its form to that represented by the dotted line in fig. 3. Its western face now presents two engaged shafts of equal magnitude with a plain wall between, instead of one only as in the original plan. The evidences of this change are shewn by the joints of the masonry, and by the capital and its abacus, in a way that when once pointed out cannot be mistaken. Also the half-pier on the opposite west wall has been similarly augmented, and the arch which rests upon these piers has been more than doubled in breadth. Fig. 7. is a view of this arch and altered pier as seen by a spectator standing in the compartment *F*, with his back against the north wall.

Fig. 7. North-west Corner of N. Transept

In this view the original engaged shaft has a ring round it, the added shaft (nearest to the spectator) is plain; the piecing of the abacus is shewn, and the original capital of the small vaulting-shaft is seen peeping out between the two. That the vault of this compartment was

erected before this change is plain, because it passes through and behind the new arch, as the figure shews, and the new pier also blocks up part of the arcade which decorates the wall below the window, and is crowded awkwardly against the window.

Now, in the compartment *H*, the same kind of addition has been made to the transept pier *n* and to the half pier of the wall *p*, and this half pier obstructs the window-arch of the eastern wall. But the vault of this compartment is ribbed, as before stated, and these ribs, instead of passing behind the additional part of the pier, are made to abut upon it in a way that clearly shews this ribbed vault to have been erected in connexion with, or at least subsequently to, the change. From this I infer, that the plain groined vaults are of the original structure, and that the additions to the piers, together with the ribbed vaults, belong to the second structure.

The motive for this additional strength given to the arches and piers at *o*, *p*, will appear if we examine the outside of the building. There, from many symptoms, it is shewn that square towers were to have been erected on the compartments *E* and *H*, to flank the gable of the transept. Fig. 8. is a sketch of part of the north-east corner of the north transept. This shews an unfinished turret at the corner, the springing of an arcade above, with other marks that shew that the north wall of the side aisle was to have been carried up vertically as for the side of a tower. Moreover, the northernmost clerestory window is inserted under an arch which was meant to open into the tower.

Fig. 8. North-east Corner of N. Transept.

Whether the tower ever existed and has been removed, or whether it was only projected and prepared for, I cannot tell. But traces of similar towers may be found more or less distinct at each angle of the transepts, namely, two towers

flanking the north gable, and two the south. In the interior elevation of the transept (fig. 1.) the clerestory window at *C* is placed under a wider arch than the other. This is one of the arches which were to have opened into the tower. I should have stated that the nature and colour of the masonry outside shews two periods, the first of which terminates just below the billet-molded tablet in fig. 8, and therefore includes the pier-arches alone.

I conclude from all these appearances that the transepts were begun without towers, and that after they had risen to the height of the pier-arches the work was interrupted: when it was resumed, the towers formed a part of the new plan, and it became necessary to fortify the arches of the previous work to enable them to carry them. It must be observed that the eastern arch of the compartment *E* (in the general plan) is in its original form a strong arch, because it has to carry the entire height of the transept wall up to the clerestory. Therefore it needed no additional strength. But the southern arch of this compartment in the original plan was merely a transverse rib separating the vaults, and having no wall above it. This made it necessary to strengthen it when the tower was planned.

I must now explain another singular addition or change in the original plan. The portions of the transepts which I have just described, namely, the extreme northern and southern parts of the cross, are of rough masonry and workmanship, but not greater than that of early Norman work in general. But the four piers of the central tower, as well as the two piers contiguous to them in each transept, although of Norman work, are of singularly good masonry, and their form is more square and stronger than those of the other transept piers. These eight piers are distinguished from the others in the plan by a different tint.

The arches also which are in connexion with these piers are of the same close-jointed masonry; and there can be no doubt that all this portion of the work has been rebuilt; thus confirming the account which history has given us, that the tower fell after the burial of William Rufus, and was rebuilt. Fig. 1. shews more clearly the line of demarcation between the two kinds of masonry, and therefore the exact portions that were rebuilt. The pier *A B* is of the older work; *E F* of the newer work; *G H* is the tower-pier.

The arches of the clerestory, triforium, and lower range, between EF and AB, are all of the newer masonry, while the shafts that project from AB, and upon which these arches rest, are of the older style. This would necessarily be the case, for if the pier EF were rebuilt, the arches that rested upon it must also have been rebuilt. But the plan of the new pier is different from the others, and as we may suppose that the pier which occupied its place before the fall of the tower was like its neighbouring pier in the transept, we are led to the conclusion that the plan of the new pier differs from that of the old. The elevation EF shews that this new pier is broader and simpler than the old one AB. But the change of form is shewn more distinctly in fig. 3. The dark shade is the old transept pier; the light shade on the right hand is the additional portion, or a plan of half the newer transept pier in question[p]. It will be observed, that the pier in its new form is considerably stronger than before, although the same number of shafts are disposed upon the respective faces; that, in fact, the general arrangement of the parts of the old pier form a circular group, or rather a square, with the angles turned to the aisle; but that in the new form the parts group into a square, with its side turned to the aisle. The transverse measurement of the new pier is the same as before, but the longitudinal measure (that parallel to the aisles) is somewhat increased, and as the whole mass of the pier is moved nearer to the tower, the arches between AB and EF, fig. 1, retain nearly the same span as before, but the arches between EF and GH are very considerably narrowed.

The tower-piers themselves must have undergone a considerable increase of dimensions. They are at present most unwieldy and intrusive, from their excessive size and awkward squareness of form, and are the largest tower-piers in England in proportion to the spans of the arches that rest on them.

Fig. 9. (see next page) is a plan of the south-western pier, upon the same scale as the plans of the other piers. I have drawn upon this, in a darker tint, the plan that, in all probability, was that of the former pier which fell.

It will be seen that the newer pier is of a square and simple form, very unusual in Norman piers.

[p] The dotted line on the left of this plan has already been explained to mean the addition to the extreme pier, and does not concern the present question.

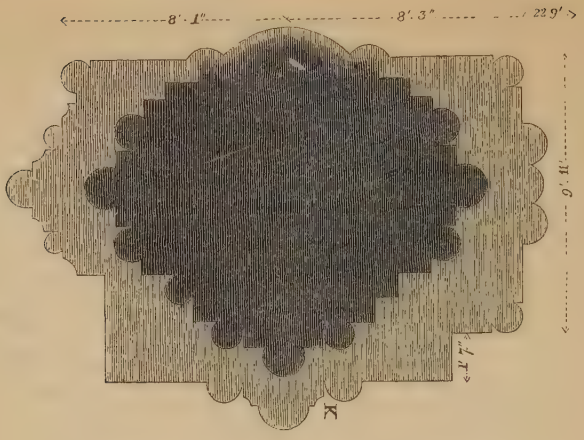


Fig. 9 South-western Tower Pier.

Figure 10. represents, upon the same scale, the south-

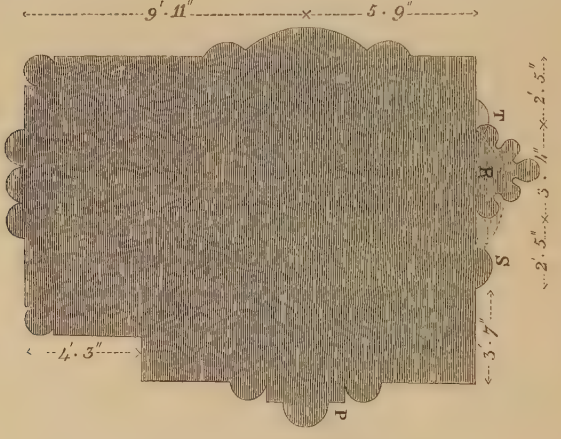


Fig. 10. South-eastern Pier.

eastern pier, which, with some difference, is like the last. It may be worth while to remark the excessive change in the dimensions of piers that took place during the successive ages in which the present church was completed.

In figs. 3, 4, and 5, the transept pier is shewn in comparison with the piers of the choir and its eastern aisles; and it must be remembered, that the walls carried by them all are of the same altitude, but that increased mechanical experience had taught the builders to reduce both the thickness of their walls, and the size and number of their piers. In fig. 10. *R* shews the half pier or respond of the choir-arch, (namely, half

of fig. 4.) *TS* are the remaining fragments which may be seen of the original Norman respond, which occupies more than twice the space. The piers however present a greater contrast of magnitude than the walls they support, for the Norman wall is of the same thickness as its pier; but the Decorated wall of the choir is considerably thicker than the pier which it overhangs on each side. The pier is 3 ft. 4 in. diameter, and its wall 5 ft. 5 in., whereas the Norman wall is 6 ft. 2 in., the same as *D H*, fig. 3, namely, that part of the pier upon which it stands.

This sketch, fig. 11, (taken however from the north-eastern pier,) shews the Decorated respond, and the remains of the Norman respond by the side of it[q].

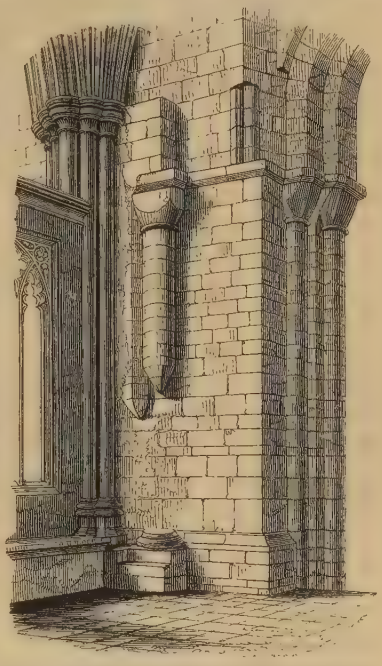


Fig. 11. Transept Pier, taken from the North-east Pier.

The distance from the centre of one pier to that of the next is about the same in the Norman and in the subsequent work.

But to return to the tower-piers. It is common in churches with a central tower to give less span to the arches that open north and south than to those which open towards the east and west. By so doing the piers are made greater in the north and south dimensions than in the east and west. The object is of course to keep the span of the east and west arches as great as possible, in order to leave the view from one end to the other of the church unobstructed. The transverse view from one transept to the other is of less consequence, especially in the early churches, in which the choir of the monks always occupied the central tower. The necessary strength is thus given to the piers by increasing their longitudinal dimensions at the expense of the transverse.

[q] The base of the Norman respond happens to be on this side more mutilated than the figure shews it, but we took the liberty of supplying this from the southern pier (at *S*, in the general plan.)

This artifice is carried to a much greater excess in some examples than in others. In Winchester to the greatest. But Gloucester and Hereford have very oblong piers. Peterborough too may be quoted, but is not completely in excess, although its squareness of form brings it into this class. In Norwich, Durham, St. Alban's, and St. Stephen at Caen, the shafts and pier-edges are managed so as to throw the tower-pier into the mass of a square, or rather parallelogram, with its angles turned towards the aisles[r].

This diagonal position is, with very few exceptions, the general system of the piers in the succeeding periods, and it gives a free passage for light and for access between the piers. When the pier is in the square position, it resembles a portion of wall, and the pier-arch is reduced to a mere arch in that wall. But when the diagonal position is employed, the pier, however compound its arrangement, always resolves itself into one or more columns, upon which the arches rest, with greater lightness of effect, and with greater apparent span. In the tower of Winchester, from the excess to which the opposite system is carried out, the arches that open from the tower to the transepts are reduced to narrow arches in a very thick wall, and the interior of these transepts is quite hidden from the choir and presbytery, at a very small distance on each side of the centre of the tower.

There can be no doubt that these piers were erected under the influence of the panic caused by the fall of the tower, and that having no certain principles to guide them in determining the necessary dimensions for strength, the builders contented themselves by making the piers as large as the place would admit, sacrificing beauty and fitness to necessity. And this is really the history of all constructions. It is a great mistake to suppose that the architects of old were governed by scientific principles; practice and experience taught them the necessary proportions. They began by making their structures as strong as they could; if from bad workmanship and unequal settlements the building fell, they made it so much the bigger next time. Finding it now too large they reduced the next building of the kind, and so on, by gradual experiments, were brought to proportions at once safe and beautiful. But all their works shew that they had no just conceptions of

[r] The ordinary piers of Norwich cathedral, on the other hand, are remarkable examples of the square position.

statical principles, and that they were guided by natural ingenuity alone, assisted by the numerous opportunities which the middle ages afforded for the erection of churches.

There is some difficulty in determining, from the historical documents that have reached us, the exact history of this early portion of the church. In the first chapter it has been shewn that Bishop Athelwold, about the year 980, effected a thorough repair, if not an entire rebuilding, of the church and monastery; that his successor added crypts, or rather, as I understand it, that he made more extensive crypts than had previously existed. And from the excessive praise and florid descriptions which are given to these works by cotemporary writers, so exalted an idea of their magnitude and beauty has been conveyed, that many persons have thought it impossible that in less than a century Walkelin should have thought it necessary to demolish them entirely. Thus Milner imagines that the crypts of the present church are the work of Athelwold, "the walls, pillars, and groining of which remain in much the same state as he left them in[s];" and also that the eastern arm of the cross of the Saxon church was allowed by Walkelin to remain, and was only pulled down when the present presbytery was erected[t]. But, as Mr. Britton has well observed[u], "it is a favourite maxim with some antiquaries to carry back the date of every church as far as possible, and like the late Mr. King and Mr. Carter, they do not hesitate to assert peremptorily that the oldest part must be of the age of the first foundation."

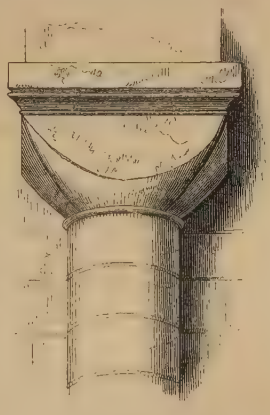


Fig. 12. North Transept.

The argument from rudeness of workmanship, is best answered by comparing the transepts of Winchester with Norman buildings erected in places where no Saxon cathedral stood before, and where, therefore, there can be no supposition of the kind above stated. Thus the masonry of these transepts is

[s] Milner's Winchester, p. 8. Mr. Garbett, of Winchester, however, (in a letter printed by Britton in his Winchester Cathedral, p. 57,) actually distributes the work of the present cathedral as follows. The western crypt of the lady chapel he gives to King Lucius. The lower part of the transepts to King Kenewalch. The upper part of the transepts, with the greater crypt and the original nave, to Athelwold; and the central tower and parts adjacent to Walkelin.

[t] Milner, vol. i. p. 13.

[u] Britton's Winchester, p. 70.

not more rude in its tooling, and the width of its joints, than that of Norwich cathedral, which see was removed from Thetford after the Conquest. Again, the architecture, in design as well as roughness of workmanship, of Winchester transept, is nearly identical even in dimensions with that of Ely transept, as they would naturally be, as the work of the brothers Walkelin and Simeon.

That many of the Saxon churches were erected of stone, and on plans of great complexity, with crypts, triforia, clerestories, central towers, and other parts resembling in arrangement the Norman churches, can hardly be doubted, from the descriptions that have been preserved to us. But that in dimensions and decoration they at all equalled the churches of their successors is wholly improbable. That cotemporary writers should praise them as immeasurably lofty and spacious is natural, and in perfect accordance with the practice of all writers, who necessarily imagine the great works of their own age to be the greatest works possible, because they have never seen anything better or half so good. Perhaps the best testimony to their comparative merit is given by Bishop Wolstan, of Worcester.

He, after the Conquest, had erected a new church there, to replace the Saxon church which his predecessor Oswald had built (c. 980). It was on a different site, and when the new church was sufficiently advanced to be occupied by the monks, he ordered the old church, the work of the blessed Oswald, to be unroofed and pulled down. But Wolstan, standing in the open air and looking on, could not restrain his tears at the sight, saying, "We wretched people destroy the works of the saints, that we may get praise for ourselves. That age of happy men knew not how to construct pompous edifices, but they knew well how, under such roofs as they had, to sacrifice themselves to God, and to set a good example. We, alas! strive that we may pile up stones, neglecting the while the cure of souls[x]." Whatever allowance may be made for the Saxon feelings of Wolstan, himself a Saxon bishop amongst Normans, and therefore in all probability unfriendly to the new modes, yet the phraseology necessarily implies a strong and undeniable contrast between the Saxon and Norman practice and manner of building, and an apology for the inferiority of the former.

[x] Malm. de gest. Pont., lib. iv. p. 280.

If Rudborne's history (or John of Exeter's) alone had been preserved to us, we should have been in greater difficulties, for there we find no other work of Walkelin expressly recorded but the tower and its piers. But the account given in the Annals is so clear that we cannot doubt that Walkelin rebuilt the church, or began it at least, and continued it so far that the monks were able to occupy it. It even appears that it was on a different site from the Saxon one, for the choir was ready for service before the old church was begun to be demolished; and although from the phrase that in one year the whole was destroyed save only one apse (or porticus) and the high altar, some have concluded that that apse was retained in the new building, it seems to me that the phrase that follows shews that the work of demolition went on, the old altar was destroyed, and probably with it the rest of the old building. That the position of the two buildings was different appears from the old tomb of Swithun, which the Saxon Wolstan says was on the west side of the church, but in Rudborne's days it was to be seen at the north door. This proves, at least, that the present church is much longer, and perhaps even that the present church stands farther south. This would be true if Wolstan's words be taken exactly to mean that the tomb stood *opposite* the west end. And if we suppose the Saxon cathedral to have had a court in front of the west end, with a tower gateway of entrance, then Swithun's tomb would be exactly in the line of the passengers, so as to be trampled under foot, according to his desire. But it may be that the tomb stood north-west, which might be loosely described as west. As we know that the old high altar was in a different spot from the new one, and that the choir of the new church was built first, and occupied the same space as the present one, as shewn by the crypt, I incline to place the Saxon cathedral across the present north transept, which would thus require it to be pulled down to complete the latter.

The crypt of the present church cannot have been any part of the Saxon church, for the reasons above stated shew that the high altars were on different sites. Indeed the plan of the present crypt is in perfect accordance with that of Norman churches in general, and is of very great extent. The identity of the work of the crypt with that of the transept may be shewn by a peculiar abacus which is used in the crypt, and also in the column which stands at each end of each transept,

bearing the gallery already described. Fig. 13. shews one of the capitals in the crypt, and fig. 14. that in the north transept. They are distinguished by an abacus so thin that it deserves the name better than any other example I have seen; and by the unusual combination (in Norman pillars) of a *round* capital with a *square* abacus, as in the Doric order.

That Rufus was buried in the central tower, and not in some other tower, as some have supposed, is plain, because one account says he was buried in the middle of the choir. As therefore the choir, like that of all Norman cathedrals in their original state, stands under the central tower, that must be the place of Rufus' burial. But the tower has plainly been rebuilt, and the account that it fell after Rufus' death, even if its fall had not been recorded in the Annals, is too well authenticated to be denied. Therefore we arrive at the conclusion that Walkelin built a tower on this site, together with the transepts, and that his tower fell after the death of Rufus, and was replaced by the existing one, but I am not sure that the curious discussion which Rudborne has quoted has given us the right conclusion, namely, that the present tower being built with Walkelin's funds, does therefore bear his name, for Walkelin may have been recorded as the builder of the tower that fell. Still it shews that doubts had arisen in the middle ages about the history of this tower. I have shewn that Walkelin's transepts went on slowly, and with changes of plan.

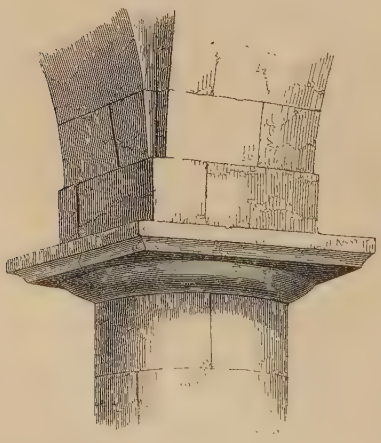


Fig. 13. Capital in Crypt.

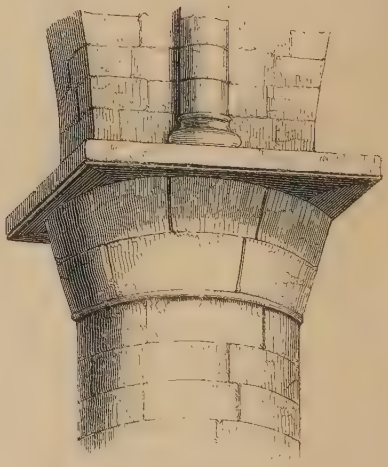


Fig. 14. Capital of North Transept.

It is worth observing, in comparing Winchester and Ely, the cotemporary works of the brothers Walkelin and Simeon, that they were both erected on different sites from their previous Saxon churches, and moreover that the central towers of both of them fell in after ages, Walkelin's in 1107, and Simeon's in 1321.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE EASTERN PART OF THE CHURCH.

The eastern arm of the church, in its present state, affords specimens of every style of architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation, and it is greatly to be regretted that so little of its history has reached us, with the exception of the beginning of the work.

Bishop Godfrey de Lucy held the see from 1189 to 1204. In 1200 the Annals record that "the tower of Winchester church was begun and finished[y]." Which tower and what work was so quickly effected does not appear. The upper story of the central tower is wholly decorated with round-headed arches, and, according to all likelihood, is fifty years earlier than this period.

In 1202, "the bishop instituted a confraternity for the reparation of the church of Winton, to last for five complete years." And in the Obituary of John of Exeter we are told, that "Godfrey Lucy made the vault with the aisles from the altar of the blessed Mary to the end (of the church), where he was buried outside the chapel of the blessed Virgin."

This last entry proves that the works of Bishop de Lucy were the eastern portions which lie between the altar wall of the Lady-chapel and the gable end of the church, the style of which is Early English, of an excellent character. This example is therefore worth examining as a well-dated building, as well as for its beauty.

y "Anno MCC. inchoata est et perfecta turris Wintoniensis Ecclesiæ." (Ann. p. 304.) "Anno MCCII. Dominus Wintoniensis Godefridus de Lucy constituit Confratriam quo reparatione Ecclesiæ Winton. duraturam usque ad quinque annos completos." (Ann. p. 305.)

"Godfridus Lucy ab altare beate Marie ad finem cum aliis voltam fecit ubi extra capellam beate Virginis humatus est, cum sedit annis xv." (John of Exeter, f. 5.) Wharton prints from an imperfect copy, and omits "*fecit*." That "aliis" is meant for "alis," appears from the "navem ecclesie cum aliis" under Wykeham.

Now in the general plan (at the end of this History), the plan of the crypt is indicated in a lighter tint, to shew its relation to the work above. It shews that the Norman cathedral, the high apse of which terminated at *Q*, where the present gable stands, had a circular aisle round the end of it. This aisle, however, had towers *R* and *S* on each side, so that the external outline of this end of the church is reduced from a semicircle to a square. From the centre projected the chapel *T*, which may have been a lady chapel, or, as at Canterbury, may have been dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Such flanking towers were not unusual. At Canterbury the towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm similarly flanked the Trinity chapel, but were beyond the line of the aisle to north and south. In the crypts of York the towers seem to have been placed as in the present example. It is probable that in the parts above the crypt the square outline would disappear. Indeed, as the outside of the wall is at present buried in the earth, we have no means of ascertaining exactly how far the towers are detached from the circular apse.

De Lucy's building extends from *L P* eastward, and is distinguished by a different tint in the plan. The whole is nearly of the same height. It consists of three aisles or alleys, separated from each other by three arches on each side, and the central alley is very little higher than the lateral ones; each alley terminates eastward, with a chapel; of these the lateral chapels *M* and *O* still retain their eastern walls, but that portion of the central or Lady-chapel *N*, which projects beyond the others, is the work of Prior Hunton, at the end of the fifteenth century. This prior erected a crypt under his chapel, the vault of which is carried by two central pillars, and the vault is thus divided into six compartments. But this crypt is not confined to his own additional part of the chapel, for two of its compartments extend under the original Lady-chapel of De Lucy. The crypt of the latter being thus obliterated, it is not easy to discover whether De Lucy's chapel extended further east than the two lateral ones, or whether the three chapels were all of one length. From some indications that appear to mark the springing of the original east

Fig. 15. Capital, Lady chapel.

wall in Hunton's crypt, I am inclined to think that the chapels of De Lucy were all of the same extent.

The Lady-chapel itself presents a singular mixture of style. The north and south walls in their western compartment retain the rich Early English arcade and *alura* of De Lucy. The eastern compartment on each side, as well as the east wall, have respectively a large Perpendicular window of seven lights, with transom and tracery of a peculiar kind of subordination, or rather interpenetration of patterns, well worth a careful study[z]. The vault is a complex and beautiful specimen of lierne work. The vaulting-shafts have capitals and bases (figs. 15. and 16.) of an unusual form, but very rich and appropriate. The western half of the chapel is fitted up with elaborately carved panelling, seats, and desks, and a skreen of separation, all of the most beautiful and perfect workmanship and design. The lower part of the walls of the eastern half have been painted, and the remains of the painting still exist. These paintings have been minutely represented and described by Milner, in Carter's Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting[a]. The western arch of separation between the Lady-chapel and the aisles that connect it with the choir of the cathedral retains the moldings of De Lucy, but not the form in which he left it, for to accommodate the vault of the fifteenth century it has been evidently taken down and reset in the shape of a four-centred arch.

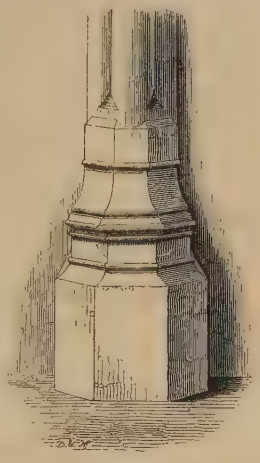


Fig. 16. Base, Lady-Chapel.

The evidence upon which this chapel is dated was first pointed out by Milner. On the vault round the two central keys[b] "one representing the Almighty, the other the blessed Virgin, we find the following characters and rebuses: the letter T, the syllable *Hun*, the figure of a *ton* for *Thomas Hunton*, and the figure 1 for *prior*. In like manner we see the letter T, the syllable *silk*, a *steed* or horse, and the figure 1, for *Thomas Silkstede, prior*. In other parts of the chapel and cathedral we find the letter T, with a skein of *silk* twisted

[z] See Britton's Sections, Pl. xx.

[a] See also Milner's Winchester, vol. ii. p. 64.

[b] Milner's words are "the *groining* round the two center *orbs*."

round it, to denote the same person, with the *vine* and the *ton* (for *Wynton*). There are other proofs from the arms of Queen Elizabeth, daughter of Edward VI., and those of the Grey family, that the addition to this chapel was begun to be built whilst Hunton was prior, but that it was finished and ornamented by Silkstede. The latter fact is attested by an imperfect inscription under the portrait of this prior, which is still visible, with the insignia of his office over the piscina in the chapel, of which the following words are part: Silkstede .... jussit quoque saxa polita, Sumptibus ornari, Sancta Maria suis[c]." Prior Hunton held his office from 1470 to 1498, when he was succeeded by Silkstede, who died in 1524. This places the date of the additions to De Lucy's chapel at the end of the fifteenth century.

In the chapel is preserved the chair or *faldistorium* represented in fig. 17, which is said to have been that in which

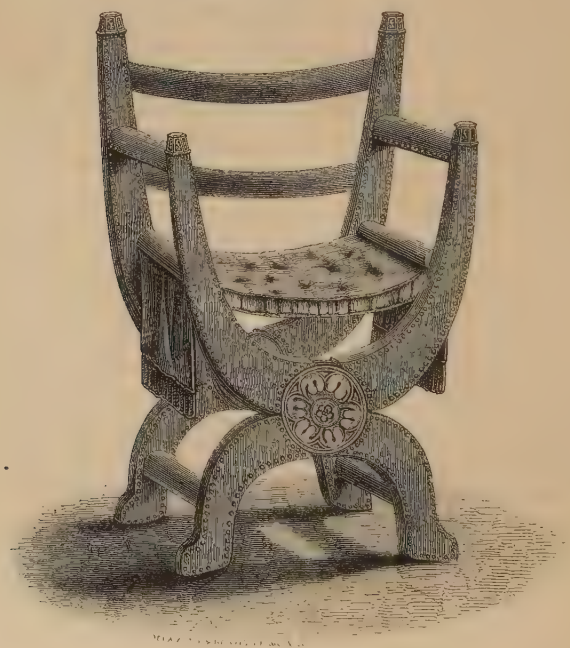


Fig. 17. Queen Mary's Chair.

Queen Mary sat upon the occasion of her marriage with Philip of Spain, which ceremony was performed in this chapel[d].

[c] Milner, vol. ii. p. 64.

[d] Milner, p. 65.

The south chapel (*O*) was fitted up as a chantry by Bishop Langton, who died in 1500. The woodwork is excessively rich and beautiful, and the vault still more elaborate than that of the Lady-chapel, for the panels between the ribs and liernes are covered with small tracery. This vault like the other has the rebuses of its builders: namely, as Milner explains them, the musical note termed a *long* inserted into a *ton* for *Langton;* a *vine* and *ton* for his see *Winton;* a *hen* sitting on a *ton* for his prior *Hunton;* and a *dragon* issuing out of a *ton*, which Milner declares himself unable to unriddle [e].

The external walls of De Lucy's work have evidently been erected complete before the arches and piers of its interior. The respond pier at *a* is entirely independent of the wall against which it rests, and the base moldings of this pier and of the wall are not bonded together, but straight-jointed, so as to shew subsequent work. The reason for this is explained by the relative position of this new work to the old, as shewn by the crypt, for it is clear that the external wall lies wholly outside the original chapel *T* and the aisle of the apse, and might therefore have been, as it probably was, erected without disturbing any other part of the building than the small towers *R* and *S*. When the external wall was finished, the chapel *T* and the aisle of the apse were taken down to the level of the pavement, leaving the crypt as to this day; and the walls of the old chapel served to carry the Early English piers of the new work. The arches that separate the chapels from the aisles are richly molded, and belong to the second portion of the work. A gradual progression of workmanship may be observed in the moldings in accordance with this account. In fig. 37, (at the end of this history,) I have assembled all the principal arch-moldings of the cathedral. *A* is the mold of the arcades that decorate the ground wall of these aisles; *B* the mold of certain trefoil-headed arches that are placed against the upper part of the north and south walls of the Lady-chapel; *C* is the mold of the great arches that separate the aisles, and *D* that of the arches that divide the chapels *M* and *O* from the aisles. It will be seen that the two former profiles which belong to the walls are more rude in their distribution than the two latter that belong to the arches and vaults; in fig. 38, *D E* are capi-

[e] Milner, p. 63. This chapel is also assigned to Langton by Godwin. "Capellam construxit ab australi parte ecclesiæ suæ Wintoniensis in cujus medio conditus jacet sub marmoreo tumulo elegantissimo."

tals, and in fig. 39, *B C* are base-molds from this part of the church. The plan of a pier is shewn in fig. 5, above. At *T* is a large slab of gray marble, without inscription, probably to mark the place of interment of Bishop de Lucy, for John of Exeter has told us that he was buried outside the lady chapel, under his vault; in accordance with the usual practice of burying a founder in his work. By a slight confusion in the tradition, the vergers used to exhibit this tomb as that of King Lucius[f].

The architecture of this early specimen of the style is remarkably elegant. It has been well illustrated in Mr. Britton's plates. The doorway shewn in fig. 18 may be taken as a specimen. It is one of those which lead from the aisles to the small turret staircases at their east ends.

Fig. 18. Door North of Lady-Chapel

The peculiar arrangement of these low eastern aisles may be compared with those of the cathedrals of Hereford, Salisbury, Chichester, St. Alban's, Wells, and Exeter. Of these Winchester is the most extensive, and Hereford the earliest[g]. The low eastern work of Hereford consists of two compartments of pointed Norman, leading to an Early English Lady-chapel, and flanked by low Decorated transepts. The distribution of the piers in the low eastern work of Wells is peculiar complex, and produces a beautiful effect. It appears to me to have been contrived with the especial purpose of facilitating the circulation of the processions, for which all these aisles were formed. Gervase has told us[h] that care was taken

[f] Vide Milner, vol. ii. p. 62.

[g] Romsey seems to have had a similar eastern addition, which would be earlier than Hereford.

[h] Arch. Hist. of Cant., p. 61.

to accommodate them in the eastern aisles of Canterbury. William of Worcester applies the term "via processionum" to eastern aisles[i], and in English vocabularies they are called the "procession path[j]." In most of our larger churches, however, eastern additions are raised as high in the centre as the choir itself, as at Canterbury, Rochester, Ely, &c.

The portion of the church which lies between De Lucy's work, and the Norman central tower and transept, is of a most curiously mixed description. Three pier-arches on each side extend eastward from the tower; two of broader span then follow, one on each side, inclined to each other so as to give an irregular polygonal form to the east end[k]; and at the east is a double arch which carries the gable, and divides the presbytery from the low eastern aisles. The piers of these arches will be seen by the plan to rest upon the walls of the Norman crypt. The western piers of De Lucy's work, however, having been erected at first so as to stand clear of the Norman apse, were supported on supplemental piers erected in the crypt below. At *U* there still remains the stump of one of the Norman piers. Its simple base is shewn at *A*, fig. 39 (at the end of this history). It stands immediately over the crypt pier, and it shews that there were four of these cylinders in the curve of the apse. If the whole of the piers of the Norman choir stood thus immediately over the centre of their corresponding crypt piers, there would have been four pier arches in the straight part of the choir, and five in the curved part, instead of the present arrangement of three in the straight part, and four in the polygonal walls. But these arches must have been narrower than those of the nave and transept. The present compartments are about equal in breadth to those of the nave.

The plan of the piers of the choir is shewn in fig. 4. above, and in fig. 6. is the plan of one of the three small eastern piers that carry the gable. But the manner in which the arches of the east end join these piers, and those of De Lucy's work, is somewhat curious, and I have therefore inserted the following sketch to explain this arrangement.

[i] "Spacium sive via processionum a retro altaris principalis coram capellam Sanctæ Mariæ, &c."—W. Worcestre, p. 242.

[j] For example, see "The Nomenclator of A. Junius," by John Higins. 1585. p. 307.

[k] This convergence of the walls serves to contract the central alley of the church to the breadth of De Lucy's middle aisle, which breadth was determined by the walls of the old Lady-chapel below. The artifice resembles that of the eastern end of Canterbury. Arch. Hist. of Cant., p. 60.

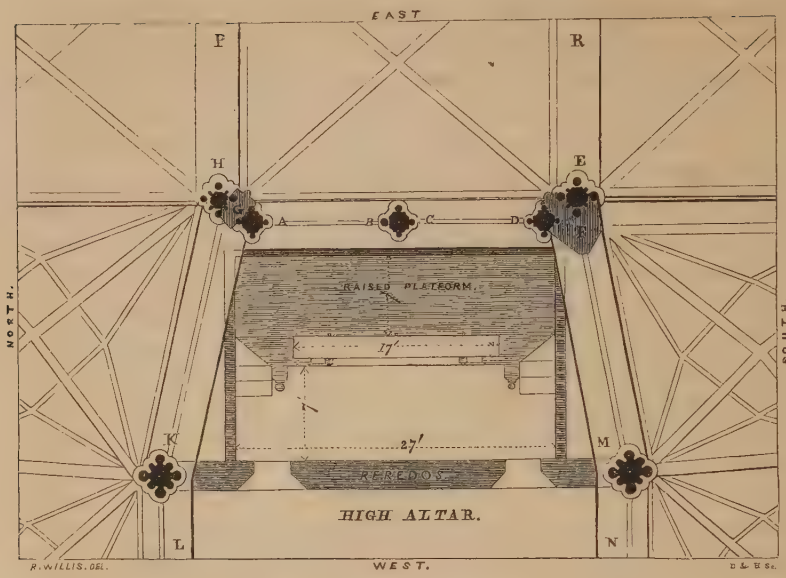


Fig 19. Plan of East end of Choir.

H E are the western piers of De Lucy; *A B D* the small eastern piers of the choir; *K* and *M* the eastern piers of the straight wall of the same. Now the arch that connects *K* and *H* rests upon and springs from the abacus of *H*, and is so united with it, that, viewed from the north side aisle, it appears to carry on the arcade of De Lucy's work in a regular sequence. The arch *P H* is succeeded in order by *H K* and *K L*. The moldings of course are different. As for the arch *A B*, it springs from a higher level than *H K*, and its moldings are made to abut, and interpenetrate with those of the arch *K H*, with that peculiar method that the Gothic masons delighted in. The abacuses of the pillars *A B D* are higher than those of *H* and *K*, because the former stand upon a high wall that serves as a screen of separation between the east end of the choir and the low eastern aisles. The eastern face of the wall is ornamented with tabernacles of rich Decorated character. In the figure of arch-moldings, (at the end of this history,) *E* is the arch-mold of the two eastern arches *A B* and *C D*, *F* is that of the north arch *H K*; and it will be seen at once that, although not exactly the same, they are the work of the same period. But *G* is the arch-mold of the southern arch *F M*, and this is wholly different, and as we shall see, subsequent. The manner in which this arch joins the

piers *E* and *D*, is wholly different from that just described, as the junction of the opposite and corresponding arch with the piers *A* and *H*. Instead of resting upon the abacus of *E*, and interpenetrating with *D C*, an additional pier *F* has been erected, joining together the piers *D* and *E*, and receiving the arch *M F*, the span of which is thus made less than that of the opposite arch, and its moldings are freed from interference with those of *C D*, while the whole work is rendered more substantial. It is easy to discover that the piers *H* and *A* were once quite separate. But at present the interstice between them is filled up with a mass of masonry, *G*, which now connects them. It seems therefore that when the polygonal east end was first undertaken, it was intended to adopt the system on the north side, and that the eastern arches and first northern arch were built as we now see them. Perhaps the southern arch was built too, and failed; at any rate, the present southern arch is of subsequent work, and erected, as I have explained, on a stronger and better plan; and the detached pillars at *A* and *H* were then bolstered by the way which I have described.

The other pier-arches of the choir have the molding marked *H* in the figure of arch-molds, very similar to *G*. That these arches were subsequent to the eastern work is plain, from the way in which this arch *L* joins the arch *K*. The latter arch, and the wall above it, rests upon the pier *K*, so as to shew that they were fairly erected upon it; the arch *L* and its wall merely abut against the others, as subsequent work would naturally do. On the leads of the north aisle we may observe that the eastern part of the work includes the buttress which stands on the pier *K*, and the seam between the two pieces of masonry lies between that buttress and the next western window. Although the succession of the works is thus plain, the exact period of their erection is not so easy to determine, in the total absence of any documents.

The work must have gone on slowly, and was probably carried up at the expense of the monastery, and not by any particular benefactor, therefore it has passed unrecorded. The piers are Decorated in form; the most easterly at *V* (in the general plan) is of older workmanship than the other three, although their capitals and bases are molded alike. From its excentric position upon the crypt pier below, it might have been erected without disturbing the Norman pier, which stood on the

centre of that pier, and thus the polygonal end may have been built without taking down more than the circular apse of the Norman choir to begin with. For as the side aisles of this choir, which we shall presently examine, are the undoubted work of Bishop Fox, who held the see from 1500 to 1528; and the Decorated piers may be dated at 1320; it follows that about two hundred years elapsed from the beginning to the end of the work, and it is not likely that the monks were destitute of a choir or a roof to their high altar all this while. As in many other cases, I believe that they proceeded for their own convenience gradually, taking down only as much of the old building as they thought themselves able to replace with the funds in hand, or in prospect, at the time.

On each side of the choir of St. Alban's there still remains three compartments of the original low vaulted Norman aisles, although the piers and pier-arches are of lofty Decorated work. In fact, Norman piers are so much thicker than the succeeding ones, as I have above remarked, in chap. II., that it becomes possible to cut down the front portions of such piers and pier arches, so as to leave room for the erection of their thinner successors, without endangering the fall of the aisles of the older work, which, notwithstanding this loss of dimensions, is still strong enough to stand alone[1]. I imagine, therefore, that the Norman side aisles of our choir at Winchester were so treated, and that they were allowed to stand until the time of Fox; the Decorated piers and arches having been erected in front of them a century and a half before. The figures 10 and 11 above, shew the possibility of this. The manner in which the work of the side aisles now joins to the Norman work of the transept, confirms this view of the question. This junction is effected on the south side of the compartment *J*, (see general plan,) and on the north side of its opposite compartment *W*. The external wall of the side aisles of the choir is most richly decorated with moldings and panel-work, with noble windows, in the best Perpendicular style, and its vault is considerably higher than that of the Norman side aisles, indeed it reaches nearly as high as the roof of the Norman triforium. This Norman vault, then, is cut down vertically on the south side of *J*, and on the north side of *W*, and the Perpendicular wall, instead of stopping at *b* and *c*, as would usually be the

[1] It must be remembered, that the arches and piers so sliced have been previously disencumbered of the weight of the clerestory wall.

case, is carried on in front of and in close contact with this truncated Norman vault, so as to join the transept pier. This arrangement is shewn by the different tints on the plan, which are given to the Norman walls and the Perpendicular walls respectively.

The sketch (fig. 20.) is taken from the floor of the triforium of *W*, looking north-east. It shews the outer face of the Perpendicular wall in question at *A*, and the Norman wall of the triforium at *B*. It must be remarked, that a window is inserted in this compartment of the side aisles, similar to those in its other severies or ciboria. This would seem to indicate an ulterior plan for removing altogether the Norman eastern aisles of the transepts.

Fig. 20. Masonry in Triforium in South Transept.

I have already stated that the Perpendicular side aisles are higher than the Norman, consequently this Perpendicular window rises and shews part of its head in the Norman triforium, as in the figure; and by looking down, it will be seen that it is completely finished on this side, although in close contact with the truncated surface of the Norman vault. If the Norman aisles were now to be taken down to the plain surface of the masonry, the entire window would be found complete, like those of the neighbouring bays. Here then we have a case precisely similar to that I have suggested, as the mode in which the works of the entire choir were carried on, and which may be thus described :—

The Norman apse was first taken down about 1320, and the polygonal termination substituted. Then, perhaps thirty years afterwards, the Norman clerestory and triforium of the straight part of the choir was removed, and its piers and pier-arches reduced in front, as I have described, so as to make room for the present piers, pier-arches, and clerestory.

Next, under Bishop Fox, about 1510, the Norman aisles

were taken down, and the present aisles erected. If the scheme had been carried on in accordance with the views of the projectors, the eastern aisles of the transepts would probably have followed, and have been replaced by other arrangements in the style of the day.

In this account I have no historical documents to guide me in fixing the dates. The moldings of the polygonal termination (see figures at the end) are Decorated in style, and resemble those of the lantern and other works at Ely, known to have been carried on from 1322 to 1328. Also the tabernacle work of the east face of the choir wall is of the same period. Hence I have placed the date of the polygonal part at about 1320. The arrangement of the compartment also resembles that of the lantern at Ely, and of the Decorated choir of Lichfield, consisting as they all do of two stages only, pier-arch and clerestory, and having a gallery or *alura* under the clerestory window, with a pierced balustrade in front. The tracery of the windows is, however, Perpendicular. But this tracery has been evidently inserted into the polygonal face of the north compartment, for the molding of the half monial at the jamb differs from that of the middle monials. What the east window may have been we know not, the gable that now stands having been rebuilt by Bishop Fox, whose device is to be found upon it. The entire design of the choir has been copied from that compartment which was first executed. Hence it happens that its moldings *G H* (see figure of arch-molds at end) appear later than the style of the composition. I am inclined to fix this part of the work at the beginning of Bishop Edingdon's period.

Edingdon held the see from 1345 to 1366, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, the great work of the nave was begun by him, and occupied his successors, Wykeham, Beaufort, and Waynflete. This may account for the delay that took place between the erection of the central part of the choir and of its side aisles; for the more important work of the nave, rendered necessary by its ruinous condition, must have absorbed all the attention and funds. There are several details in the clerestory of the choir that resemble similar ones in Edingdon's work. For example, the cusps of the window tracery are terminated with flowers instead of being simply pointed, a fact which I shall presently shew will serve to identify Edingdon's work at the west end of the nave. The

tracery of the clerestory windows in the choir is greatly inferior to that of Fox in its side aisles, or to that of Wykeham in the nave, but has many points of resemblance to that of Edingdon in the nave. The side aisles of the choir are identified with Fox by his badges and emblems, which abound in this part of the work. The east end gable is crowned by his statue resting on his emblem, the pelican. The north corbel of the hoodmold of this east window is a most characteristic portrait bust of a bishop, evidently Fox, from the resemblance to his head above. The flying buttresses, which the jointing of the masonry prove to have been subsequent insertions into the wall of the clerestory, have also the pelican of Fox carved upon them. The insertion of these buttresses is explicable if we recollect that the walls of the clerestory have just been attributed to Bishop Edingdon. The roof of the choir is of wood framed to imitate stone, but the vault of the side aisles is a fine piece of stone lierne work. These aisles, as may be seen from the account given in these pages, present a curious and instructive mixture of style. Thus the pier *H* (fig.19.) receives an Early English pier-arch *P H* on the east side, a Decorated pier-arch *H K* on the west, an Early English vault and ribs on the north-east side, and a set of Perpendicular vault-ribs on the north-west. The rib that runs northwards from this pier is halved, and has Early English moldings on one side, and Perpendicular on the other. Also the pier-arch *H K* has a Perpendicular wall-rib running parallel to its Decorated moldings on its north side.

I have hitherto employed the word choir in its architectural sense. But in this cathedral the ancient Norman arrangement being retained, the actual "choir of the monks," the place where the stalls are fixed, is under the tower, and that which is termed the choir, is proved distinctly to be the presbytery. The high altar was fixed originally between the extreme pillars *K M* (fig. 19,) and the shrine of Swithun and the other saints appear to have stood behind it. A lofty and magnificent reredos now extends from pillar to pillar, immediately backing the altar; and the space behind it to the east, including the polygonal part of the choir, is thus cut off and separated; a door on each side the altar leads to this space.

This was the "feretory," a place for the feretra or shrines of the patron saints. The arrangement is analogous to that of many other cathedrals. Unfortunately, the date of this reredos

is not preserved, and there are no devices to lead us to fix it with any precision, save only that its style indicates late work, and it may therefore be assigned to the latter end of the fifteenth century. The lateral enclosure of the choir is effected by screens of stone tracery, which bear initials, mottos, devices, and a date. We have in different parts the initials of Fox and his motto, Est Deo Gracia, in black letter, the initials of Cardinal Beaufort and his motto, IN DOMINO CONFIDO, and the initials W. F. and motto, SIT LAUS DEO, of some unknown benefactor. There is also the date 1525. Under each pier-arch upon the screen is placed a mortuary chest, also the work of Bishop Fox[m].

The feretory, which is cut off from the rest of the choir by the high reredos, was once of course visible from the choir; at the extreme east end there are still to be seen the ruins of its ancient arrangement, shewn in the plan, (fig. 19.) The sides of this chapel are at present occupied by two chantry chapels, that of Gardiner on the north, and of Fox on the south. At the east part is a raised platform, seven feet broad, extending quite across. Its upper surface is now three feet above the floor, but was originally much higher; steps at each end gave access to this upper surface, and in front there are the remains of a hollow place, which, from the piers and other indications that remain on the floor, evidently had an arcade in front of it, over which the pavement of the platform extended so as to make its breadth about ten feet in the whole.

This platform probably sustained the shrine of St. Swithun, and also those of SS. Birinus, Edda, and Ethelwold, or of some of them, for these are recorded as the especial patrons of the

[m] There are six of these chests in all: three on each side, made of wood, carved, painted, and gilt, and designed in the cinque cento style, which in the time of Fox was making its appearance in England. The persons whose remains were by him deposited in them appear from the inscriptions, but the bones which they now contain can hardly be identified with the inscriptions, because it is known that these chests, or at least some of them, were opened in the civil war, and their contents scattered about the church. The remains were collected afterwards, and deposited in two of the chests. The entire inscriptions and other particulars may be found in Milner, (vol. ii. p. 47.) The names inscribed on the chests in order, are, beginning from the altar on the north side, and returning to it again on the south:—

(1.) Rex Kyngils. Adulphus Rex.

(2.) Kenulphus Rex. Egbertus Rex.

(3) and (4.) "In hac et altera e regione cista reliquæ sunt Cnuti et Rufi regum Emmæ reginæ, Winæ et Alwyni Episcoporum."

(5.) Edmundus Rex.

(6.) Edredus Rex.

In the mixture of bones in chests (3) and (4) we have the remains of the confusion which existed in the time of Henry de Blois, see art. 24, ch. 1. above; and these chests now carry an additional inscription to the effect that in 1661 they were made the receptacles of the promiscuous mixture of the bones of princes and prelates which had been scattered by the sacrilegious barbarism of 1642.

church. Whether the arcade below was appropriated to the reception of smaller relics we cannot tell. It was usual to raise up the shrines of saints, and leave a free space under them. Indeed the most common way was to place the shrine of a notable saint in an isolated position in the midst of the feretory, with open arcades below, as in the case of Edward the Confessor, Thomas à Becket, &c.

The east end of this platform is bounded by a wall, the eastern face of which has been already described as being ornamented with tabernacles of Decorated work. This wall is about twelve feet high on the side next to the low aisles of De Lucy, and the floor under the platform is carried by a small vault, the entrance to which is by a low arch in the eastern face of the wall under the range of tabernacles. This vault[n] is supposed to be that which is designated as the *Holy Hole* in the records (art. 24, ch. 1. above). There are nine tabernacles, and in each two pedestals; under these pedestals there still remain the inscribed names of the persons represented by the images that once stood upon them[o].

The Norman crypt is at present filled up with earth to a considerable height, and is moreover obstructed in all directions by masses of brickwork raised for the reception of coffins, for the water lies so near the surface that it is not only impossible to bury under the pavement of the original crypt, but it has also been thought advisable thus to cover up the lower parts of the pillars and walls. The structure of the crypt appears to terminate westward at the eastern piers of the tower. But the raised platform above the crypt, which includes the presbytery and its aisles, and all the eastern part of the church, is also extended under the central tower, and beyond it to the

[n] The position of this vault, and its relation to the pavement of the choir and feretory, may be understood from Britton's sections, pl. 2, fig. 4. His plate 23 shews the eastern elevation of the wall, with its range of tabernacles, and the arch of the Holy Hole below them, also shewn in one of Coney's spirited etchings in the Monasticon. In pl. 22, Britton, is an elevation of one of the tabernacles. These tabernacles are beautiful specimens of Edwardian work, and well deserve study. They may be compared with the similar work in the Lady-chapel of Ely, which was begun in 1321, and occupied about thirty years.

[o] Kyngilsus rex (s). S. Birinus episcopus. Kynwaldus rex (s). Egbertus rex (s). Adulphus rex filius ejus (s). Aluredus rex (s). Edwardus rex senior (b). Athelstanus rex (b). Dominus Jesus. Sancta Maria. Edredus rex (s). Edgar rex (b). Emma regina (s). Alwynus episcopus. Ethelredus rex (b). S. Edwardus rex filius ejus (b). Canutus rex (s). Hardicanutus rex filius ejus (s). Comparing this list with that of John of Exeter, I find it to include all the kings before the Conquest that were either buried in Winchester cathedral or were benefactors to the same. I have marked those who received sepulture there with (s), and those who were benefactors only, with (b). Of Alfred, or Alured, he records that he was first buried in this church, and afterwards translated by his son to the new monastery.

second pillar westward from the tower pier. At this point a flight of steps, with an intermediate landing, or "half pace," at *Z*, (see general plan at end,) connects the raised pavement of the choir with the lower level that prevails in the nave and transepts. This lower level also joins to the higher by means of lateral steps at *Y* in the side aisles of the nave, and similarly by steps at *X* access is given from the transepts to the side aisles of the presbytery. As the compartment *J* in the east aisle of the north transept, and the compartment *K* in the side aisle of the presbytery, are thus on the two different levels respectively, the door of the crypt is conveniently placed in the south side of *J*.

The stalls extend from the western corners of the eastern tower-piers to the first pier of the nave, and are terminated on the north side by a rich pulpit of wood, which bears the name of its donor, "Thomas Silkstede, prior[p]," on different parts of it. The woodwork of the stalls is exceedingly rich and beautiful. It has, however, been subjected to various alterations, that may be easily detected upon examination. They are of early Decorated work, and their canopies and gables bear considerable resemblance to that of the tomb of Edmund Crouchback, in Westminster Abbey, as Milner has most truly observed[q]. This would place their date about the year 1296. The desks and stools in front of the upper range bear the initials of Henry VIII., of Bishop Stephen Gardiner, Dean W. Kingsmill, and the date 1540. Formerly a "pulpitum," or roodloft, extended from pillar to pillar of the nave over the landing (*Z*) of the steps leading to the choir. This bore the great cross of Stigand, described in a previous chapter[r]. The space between this and the stalls was probably occupied by chapels and altars. The chantry chapel of Edingdon still remains on the south of the landing at 3, and the state of the piers on the north side shews that they were formerly covered by some wood or stone work now removed; for, as we shall presently see, the pillars of the nave, originally Norman, have all been cased, and altered into Perpendicular. But in these piers the upper part only is so changed, and the lower still shews the old Norman work, which it was not practicable or necessary so to change at the time the alteration was made, because they were then concealed by some

[p] He was prior from 1498 to 1524.
[q] Milner, ii. p. 36. Britton, pl. 14, has an elevation of the stalls.
[r] See chap. i. art. 18. above.

decorations connected with the western entrance of the choir. This, whatever it was, seems to have been removed after the Reformation; and in the reign of Charles I. a screen of the composite order was erected, as a mere wall of separation, at the west end of the stalls, between the two first piers of the nave on each side; for in this cathedral the organ is not placed over the west door of the choir, but under the tower-arch of the north transept, consequently no gallery is required, as usual in other cathedrals, and a single wall is sufficient for a screen. The classical screen is now replaced by one more in accordance with the style of the building, the work of the late Mr. Garbett.

Before quitting this portion of the church, I must mention two chapels formed in the eastern aisles of the south transept, by screens of stone tracery work. The south is called Silkstede's chapel, because the letters of his Christian name, Thomas, are carved on the cornice or crest of the stone screen, but in such a manner that the M. A., the monogram of his patroness, the Virgin Mary, are distinguished from the rest; together with the skein of silk which is the rebus of his surname. Fig. 21 is a lock of this chapel.

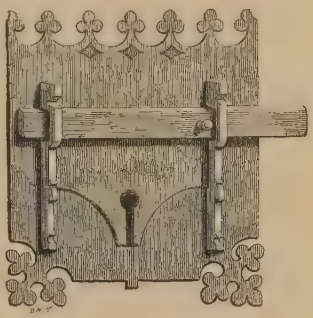


Fig. 21. Lock of the Chapel.

The bench, of which a portion is

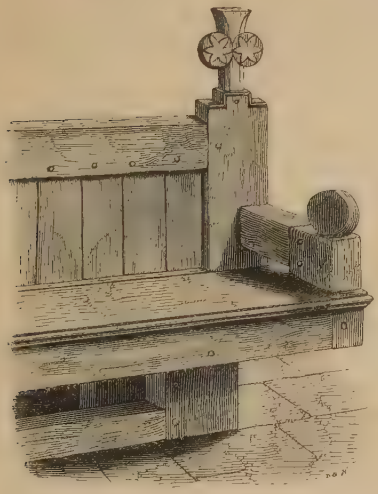


Fig. 22. Bench in South Transept.

Fig. 23 Iron-work, S. Transept.

shewn in fig. 22, is preserved in the south transept; from its rudeness of construction and its ornaments, it might be coeval with the transept itself; but I have not examined it with sufficient minuteness to give a decided opinion upon it.

The north chapel is remarkable for the elaborate and beautiful iron work with which the openings of its tracery are defended, of which a portion is represented in fig. 23.

CHAP. IV.

ON THE NAVE.

We have now arrived at the nave of the church, which exhibits one of the most curious instances of transformation from one style of architecture to another that has been preserved to us. For although at present a complete and perfect specimen of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is yet in the heart and core of its structure from the ground to the roof the original Norman building commenced, if not completed, by Bishop Walkelin. To develope and explain the nature of this singular state of things is the object of the present chapter. For although it has been pointed out by Milner and subsequent writers, there are many particulars that appear to me to have escaped observation, and the whole process is so curious an example of the modes of proceeding in the middle ages, that it deserves a very minute examination. And first for the history.

In the will of Bishop Edingdon, (who held this see from 1345 to 1366,) he desires that a portion of his property shall be expended upon the completion of the nave of the Cathedral at Winchester which he had begun, &c.[s]

Which part of the nave he had so begun, history does not inform us, but we shall presently shew that it was at the west end. Edingdon was succeeded by William of Wykeham. It is not consistent with the plan which I have laid down for this short history to relate more of the events of

[s] By his will dated 1366 "præcepit, ut de bonis suis expenderetur ad perfectionem navis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Winton, à se inchoatæ et ad subsidium domûs sive Cantariæ de Edyngdon à se fundatæ."—Registr. Langham cited in Ang. Sac., tom. i. p. 317.

his life than are immediately connected with the works of the cathedral in question, and indeed the admirable and well known biography by Bishop Lowth, would in any case have rendered such a task superfluous. It appears that Wykeham (a native of Wykham in Hampshire) was recommended by his first patron, Nicholas Uvedale, governor of Winchester castle, to Bishop Edingdon, and by both was made known to Edward III.[t] He is proved to have been in Edingdon's service in 1352. He was placed in the king's service when about 22 or 23 years of age, and in 1356 was made clerk of all the king's works in his manors of Henle and Yeshamsted. In the same year he was appointed surveyor of the king's works at the castle, and in the park of Windsor[u].

William of Wykeham was elected bishop of Winchester 1366, consecrated Oct. 10, 1367, and immediately set about repairing all the episcopal buildings, and purchased the use of the stone quarries of Quarrer Abbey in the Isle of Wight. The abbot engaged to assist him as general director and surveyor of these preparations, and the bishop wrote circular letters to all the ecclesiastics of the island, both regular and secular, to desire them to send in as many workmen, carriages, and necessaries for the work, as they could supply him with at the demand and according to the directions of the abbot, all to be defrayed at his own expense[x].

[t] Lowth, p. 13, 17.

[u] By this patent he had powers given him to press all sorts of artificers, and to provide stone, timber, and all other materials and carriages. He had one shilling a day while he staid at Windsor, 2s. when he went elsewhere on his employment, and 3s. a week for his clerk.—Lowth, 18.

"Circa ann^{m}. Dom^{i}. 1359, Dominus Rex ad instigationem W. Wykeham Clerici in castro de Wyndshore, multa bona ædificia fecit prosterni et alia plura pulchra et sumptuosa ædificari; omnes fere lathomi et carpentarii per totam Angliam ad illam ædificationem fuerunt adducti, ita quod vix aliquis potuit habere aliquem bonum lathomum vel carpentarium nisi in abscondito propter regis prohibitionem."—Cronica MS. in Corp. Chr. Cantab. Lowth, 19.

Wykeham had also the sole direction of the building of Queenborough Castle (in insula de Shepeye.)—Lowth, 19.

On 10th July, 1359, he was constituted chief warden and surveyor of the king's castles of Windsor, Ledes, Dover, and Hadlam, and of the manors of Old and New Windsor, &c. with powers to appoint all workmen, to provide materials, &c. . . .

In the next year workmen were impressed in London, and out of the several counties, for the works at Windsor.—Ashmole by Lowth, 22.

He held the deanery of St. Martin's le Grand, London, for 3 years, and rebuilt at his own expense "Claustrum domus capituli et corpus ecclesiæ."—MS. Coll. Winton; also Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 424 and 427, Rot. Pat. in Tanner Notit. 297.

Amongst other preferments enumerated by Lowth is, he was canon of Lincoln, 1362; had a prebend in York, 1362; in St. Stephen's, Westminster, 1363; archdeaconry of Northampton and Lincoln, and the prepositure of Wells, with prebend annexed, 1363.

[x] Lowth, 61, from MS. penes Dom. Epis. Wint.

The dates of the foundations of his two colleges at Oxford and Winchester are thus given by Chandler. . . .

Erexit enim titulum et posuit primum lapidem in Coll^{o}. Wintoniensi in Oxoniâ,

In the year 1393, Wykeham held a fourth visitation of the monastery of his cathedral at Winchester, a principal object of the inquiry being the state and condition of the fabric, which was greatly out of repair, and the estates allotted to it very insufficient. The bishop ordered that the prior for the time being should pay £100 a year for seven years ensuing, and the sub-prior and convent 100 marks in like manner, for this service, over and above the profits of all estates so allotted, and all gifts and legacies. Soon after we find that the bishop relieved the prior and convent from the whole charge, and, with his usual generosity, took it entirely upon himself[y].

Some work had previously been carrying on at a great expense in the year 1371[z]. But Wykeham's work was undertaken in the year 1394[a], and entered upon in the beginning of the following year, upon certain conditions stipulated between him and the prior and convent[b], which will presently appear from his will.

He died on the 27th of September, A.D. 1404, leaving, as it appears, the work unfinished, but it was carried on and completed by his successors.

The few particulars which I have just extracted from Lowth serve to shew that this bishop was connected with Winchester from his youth, and also that he was essentially a practical man, and engaged in architectural works of the most extensive kind all his life. This gives an additional interest to the works in question, because we may imagine that the mode of proceeding was his own device, and that the designs were mainly due to him. Now although he is recorded by his biographers[c] as having erected the nave as we see it, it is

A.D. 1379, 3 Ric. II. The society made their public entrance into it 1386, April 14. Collegii B. Mariæ prope Civitatem Wintoniæ primi lapidis positio facta fuerat, Mar. 26, 1387, 11 Ric. II.; and the first entrance of the Society, post constructionem dicti Collegii, Mar. 28, 1393.—Brevis Cronica. Ang. Sac., tom. ii. p. 356.

The chapel of this college was dedicated and consecrated in 1395.—Reg. Wykeham in Lowth, p. 176.

Henry Chicheley, abp. of Canterbury, one of Wykeham's own scholars, whom he had himself seen educated in both his societies, following his master's great example, built a chantry and hospital at Higham Ferrers, and founded All Souls College at Oxford.

[y] I extract the whole of this account from Lowth, (p. 192,) who quotes in confirmation the Harleian MS. No. 328. f. 12 for the visitation, and the Leger Book of the Church of Winton, No. 1. fol. 20.

[z] Lowth, (p. 194,) quotes Reg. Wykeham, part 3. a. fol. 47.

[a] Novam fabricam (Ecclesiæ Wynton) incepit die Mercurii prox. post festum omnium Sanctorum anno regni Regis Ric. II. xviii. (1394.)—MS. Coll. Winton. (Lowth, 195.)

[b] Lowth, (195,) quotes Leger Book of Winchester Church, No. 1. fol. 18, and the will.

[c] "Willelmus de Wykeham, qui navem Ecclesiæ cum aliis prout nunc cernitur renovari et voltari fecit."—John of Exeter, f. 5 b. Ang. Sac., tom. i. p. 286.

"Ecclesiam illam (Winchester cathe-

plain, from various evidences, that this assertion must be taken loosely, to mean that he had the greatest share in its construction. The best information concerning the exact state of the works at the time of his death, and the mode in which they were carried on, is furnished by his will, and accordingly I shall proceed to extract and translate all those portions of that document that relate to the cathedral. It is dated at South Waltham, July 24, 1403, about fifteen months before his death[d], and nine years after his part of the work was begun.

Item. I desire that my body be buried in the middle of a certain chapel by me newly erected on the south side of the nave of the cathedral church of Winchester.

Item. I will and ordain that my executors shall cause to be reconstructed the body or middle part of the aforesaid church, between the north and south aisles, from the west door of the choir downwards as far as the west end, in its walls, windows, and vault, handsomely and well, according to the form and manner of the new work of the aforesaid aisles now begun, and they shall also complete the said aisles through the same extent in length. And they shall expend upon the work as much as 2,500 marks, if so much be required for its completion in the form and manner above defined. It being premised, however, that the prior and convent of the church shall provide all the scaffold necessary and convenient for the work; also, that they shall freely and without charge permit lime and sand to be taken by the workmen sent by myself or my executors, from any part of the lands of the convent or of their tenants, where it is of the best quality; also, that the stones, lead, iron-work, timber, glass, or any other of the materials which the old building may yield entire, shall remain, and be employed in the new work.

And I will and ordain that the arrangement and conduct of the new work shall be entrusted to Master William Winford, and such others discreet, sufficient, and approved in their art, as may be chosen, if necessary, by my executors. Also, that Dominus Simon Membury, now supervisor and paymaster of the work, shall continue in the same offices under the supervision and controul of Brother John Wayte, monk of my said church, and at present controller of the work on the part of the prior and convent, so long as he shall continue in good health, but when he becomes unfit or unable to work, then the prior and convent shall appoint some other monk

dral) pluribus donis, viz. vestimentis de pannis auri aliisque jocalibus quàm hîc inseri possint mirificè decoravit; corpusque dictæ Ecclesiæ cum duabus alis et omnibus fenestris vitreis à magnâ Occidentali fenestrâ capitali usque ad campanile à fundo usque ad summum de novo reparavit et voltas in eisdem opere curioso constituit . . . . . cujus corpus jacet tumulatum in Oratorio B. M. V. in navi Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wintoniensis quod ipse superstes ad honorem ejusdem Virginis fieri ordinavit."—Brevis Cronica, Ang. Sac., tom. ii. p. 356.

[d] It is printed at length in the original Latin in Lowth's Appendix, p. xxxii.

of the said church to succeed him as controller so long as the work shall last. And the payments shall be made from time to time, according to the discretion of the whole of my executors, or of any five at the least.

Item. I bequeath five hundred marks for the glazing of the windows both above and below of the south side of the aforesaid church by me repaired, to be done handsomely and well, according to the directions of my executors. And I desire that the glazing shall be begun at the west end of the church, with the new work there made by me, and carried on seriatim and in order, to the completing of all the windows of the south side of the said new work. And if then any portion of the sum remains, I will that it be expended upon the windows of the north aisle, beginning at the west end, with the first window of the new work by me made, and so going on eastward as I have already ordained, from the south side, &c. . . . . .

The west front of the present nave, together with two windows and the three buttresses that belong to them on the north side of the north aisle, and also one window on the south side of the south aisle, are very different in design from the rest of the work. This portion may therefore be attributed to Bishop Edingdon. And it will be remarked, that in Wykeham's will just recited, he carefully desires that the windows of each aisle are to be glazed, beginning at the westernmost window of the part which he himself has erected, thereby excluding the windows that had been erected by his predecessor, and probably glazed by him.

From the will it seems that at the time that document was written the body of the church was incomplete, or remained to be erected, that the aisles were not finished, and that the windows were not glazed. Now in giving directions for the glazing he begins with the south side, and desires that the windows of that side, both above and below, (that is, both of aisle and clerestory,) shall be first done. I infer therefore that the south side was erected under his own superintendance, and nearly completed. And as he then proceeds to the windows of the north aisle of the new work "by me made," it seems that the north aisle was begun. As the work of the aisles necessarily includes the piers, pier-arches, and all the lower part of the body or central portion of the church, the parts left for his executors to complete must have been the clerestory wall of the north side, and the vault. This view is perfectly borne out by the building itself. For the works of the south side, as I shall presently shew, are carried on upon a different system from those of the north, retaining more of the original Norman structure, and this system appears to

have been abandoned before the north side was begun. As to the vault of the nave, its bosses, as well as the tablet below the triforium, have the arms and busts of Cardinal Beaufort and of his father, together with their devices, the white hart chained, &c., as also the lily of Bishop Waynflete, intermingled with the arms and busts of the founder, Wykeham[e]. Beaufort and Waynflete were the immediate successors of Wykeham, and these devices would shew that the sculpture at least, of the nave and of its vault, was not completed for nearly fifty years after Wykeham's death. Now the work which I have attributed to Edingdon includes only the outer wall, marked with a different tint in the plan. The vaults of the side aisles of these compartments, namely, two in the north aisle and one in the south, belong to the work of Wykeham, and the piers and pier-arches of his work extend completely to the west end, and include the two responds or half piers from which the western pier-arches spring. These responds join the great west wall with a straight joint, and are not apparently bonded thereto.

The view in p. 60. represents the outside of the wall of the north aisle at the west end. It shews four buttresses all different from each other. The left hand buttress, however, is similar to all the others on this side of the Church. In the other three there is a general similarity, but the number of set-offs is greater by one, than in the left hand buttress, which we may call Wykeham's.

Our view also shews three windows, of which the left hand one (or Wykeham's) is of a much more elegant and peculiar design than that of the other two, which are singularly heavy, and from the extreme depth of their exterior moldings have a most cavernous and gloomy appearance. These differences were first pointed out by the acuteness of Milner[f], and shewn by him to indicate the respective works of Wykeham and Edingdon. The little north door may be remarked as the one opposite to which the chapel of St. Swithun used to stand[g]. A set-off in the wall above Edingdon's windows is seen, which marks the upper boundary of his remaining work. The pinnacles and upper set-off of his buttresses were added by Wykeham, and resemble the others. But the last buttress and pinnacle apparently remain in the state in which Edingdon left them.

[e] Milner, p. 24. [f] P. 17. [g] See ch. i. art. 6. above.

Fig. 24. Three Bays, North Aisle of Nave.

The moldings of the windows in question, both within and without, afford a very useful test of the different powers of the artists that designed them.

In figure 25, *D* belongs to the Edingdon windows, and *C* to the Wykeham windows of the side aisles. Externally, (on the lower half of the figure,) the arch-mold of the first consists of two singularly broad and shallow casements or hollow moldings, that of the second has a small casement, and a double ressant molding, sometimes called a brace, from its resemblance to that character ⌒. The first joins the face of the tracery by a simple square nook, the second by a graceful elliptical casement, which detaches the fillet effectually. The wall is also greatly reduced in thickness, and as the glass is

A. Presbytery. Side aisle.
B. Part of Great East Window.
C. Nave. Side aisle, (Wykeham).
D. Nave. Side aisle, (Edingdon).
E. Part of Great West Window.
F. Presbytery. Clerestory.
G. Escoinson Shaft.
H. Rib.

Fig. 25. Window Jamb Molds.

fixed in both windows at the same distance from the inside face, the difference is wholly thrown upon the exterior effect. The two hollow molds of Edingdon's exterior arch were probably copied from the window of the clerestory of the choir, (*F*, fig. 25.[h])

In the interior the moldings also differ. Edingdon's begins with a brace-molding, and Wykeham's with a triple group. The monial-mold of the first is more complex than that of the second, and the boutells of the first are flanked by a fillet and sharp edge, which is wanting in the second.

The base moldings given to the shafts of Edingdon's work in the interior are entirely different from those of Wykeham. In the figure of bases at the end, *I* is Edingdon's, *K* and *L* are Wykeham's. The first consists of two slender casements only. The last has, in addition to a broader casement below, a molding above, which is wholly wanting in the first. In the figure, *L* is the mold of Wykeham's wall-side shafts, and *K* the mold that belongs to the great shafts of his piers. In figure 26. a part of the wall is sketched from the west end, where Wykeham's work unites with Edingdon's. *A* is one of Wykeham's shafts with the complex mold, and *B* one of Edingdon's with the simpler mold.

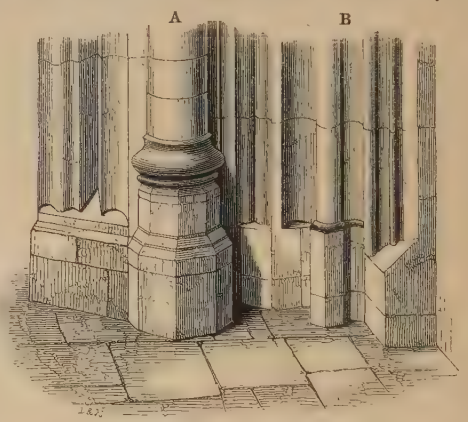


Fig. 26 Bases of Shafts of West end of Nave.

Another difference is to be found in the heads of the panels in the two works, and also in the arch-heads of the lights in the windows. The following figures respectively represent the arch-heads of the two works, fig. 27. of Edingdon and fig. 28. of Wykeham. The points of the cusps in Edingdon's work are decorated each with a small leaf. In Wykeham's work they are each plain.

In Wykeham's panels the masonry of the panels itself is carefully finished, and the same stones serve in fact for the ground of the panel and for the moldings; but in Eding-

[h] See p. 61. above.

Fig. 27. Head of Panels and Lights in Edingdon's work.

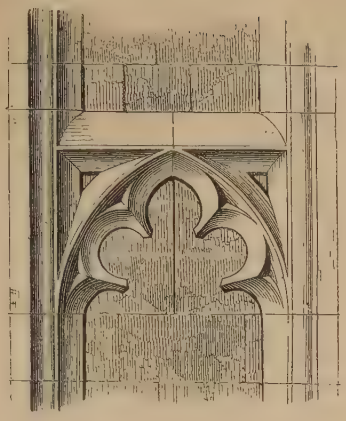


Fig. 28. Head of Panels and Lights in Wykeham's work

on's panels the monials and tracery only are framed of good masonry, and the panels are filled up with rough ashlar.

Now by means of these tests it becomes perfectly evident that he great west window, with the western porches, constitutes part of the same work as the lateral walls and windows that ave just been attributed to Edingdon, and that these works are otally different from the portion that belongs to Wykeham. The flowered cusps are employed throughout the entire west vindow, from the panels below to the head above, and also hroughout the western porches, as well as throughout the vindows of the walls of the side aisles at the three western ompartments already mentioned, and also for the two west- rn windows of those aisles. The small slender base prevails hroughout these parts alone, and runs all through the west- rn porches. The moldings of the great west window only liffer from those of Edingdon's side aisles in the manner hewn in figure 25. They are identical from *d* to *c*, but rom *c* to *E*, although the moldings are alike, those of the great window are thrown a little farther outwards from the amb, to allow apparently for the greater magnitude of the vork. From all these indications I am confident that the west ront forms one design with the two compartments on the north nd the one on the south, and that it must be therefore attri- buted to Edingdon. I am inclined to think that the gable nd turrets were not finished by him; and there are curious ndications of change of plan about them, which are very dif- icult to disentangle. The external jamb of the great window as exactly the same moldings as those of Edingdon's side-

aisle windows (*D*, fig. 25,) namely, the two great casement moldings. Fig. 29. represents the jamb moldings and impost of the west window, and if we follow these moldings up the jamb to the impost point, we shall find that the outer casement *A* is stopped there by means of a cap molding, and that the inner one *B* is only carried over the arch-head. It may be supposed, therefore, that this arch having been left unfinished at Edingdon's death, the deep cavernous effect already alluded to had already been objected to by his successor Wykeham, and that therefore the outer casement molding was thus disposed of when the gable was carried up. The flowered cusps, however, extend to the tracery of the spandrels, but not to that of the tracery of the triangular gable above. They were probably abandoned by Wykeham when he began his great work, on account of the additional expense and trouble they occasioned. I have already mentioned that they are to be found in the clerestory windows of the presbytery, whence they were probably copied like the double casement moldings, when the west end was begun[i]. The design of the west window is singularly simple, reducing itself to the merest stone grating. Divided into three great vertical compartments by principal monials, each of these is again split into three by secondary monials. Seven transoms divide the space into eight horizontal compartments. But the door in the centre and the arch-heads of the lights disturb the regularity of those at the top and bottom of the window. The window sill coincides with the second transom from the bottom, consequently we have panels below it and lights above it; then we find four rows of nine lights each, all alike, and above these the arch-head, which can scarcely be said to be filled with tracery, so completely does the grating-like character pervade it. In fact, in the central group of lights the grating extends to the very top, as well as in the middle of each great lateral division, the only attempt at curvilinear tracery being the filling up of the two side subordinate compart-

Fig. 29. Jamb Moldings and Impost of West Window.

[i] Britton, pl. 4, has an exterior view of the west end, and in his Chronological Antiquities, vol. v., an interior view of the same.

ments of each great lateral division; and this, as it happens to coincide with the similar parts of Wykeham's aisle and clerestory windows, has been thought by some writers enough to identify the two as the works of the same person.

It appears from recent investigations that the west front of the Norman cathedral extended about forty feet in advance of the present one. Some raised ground in front of the western doors, and remains of walls in an adjacent garden, have long given rise to an opinion that this might be the case; but Mr. Owen Carter has lately excavated the ground and traced the foundations, which are shewn in a light tint in my plan, and which I have copied from a sketch, for which I am indebted to the kindness of that gentleman. These foundations shew a wall of 128 feet from north to south, and 12 feet thick, with returns at each end, of the same thickness, 60 feet in length. At their eastern ends the walls again turn at right angles, and meet the present side aisles at 17 feet from each corner. Within the parallelogram thus partially traced two other walls run from east to west, at a distance of 36 feet from each other. At

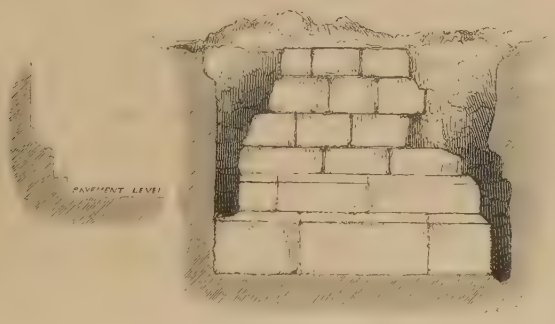


Fig. 30. Base of West Towers

the north-east angle *c*, the excavation uncovered the plinth represented in the margin. This plinth consists of two plain faces with chamfers, and corresponds exactly in profile and in level with the Norman plinth of the south transept.

The figure on the left side shews the relative level of the pavement and base in the interior of the north transept, as nearly as can be indicated, for the level of the pavement varies considerably.

In a garden adjoining the west end of the cathedral, part of the south-west angle of the walls still remains, to a consider-

able height above the ground, as shewn by the darker tint at *d e f*. But this is a mere mass of rubble stripped of ashlar.

These foundations must either have belonged to two western towers, or to a kind of western transept; and this construction, whatever it was, having been in all probability either left unfinished or threatening ruin, Edingdon was induced to take it down, and replace it by the present west front. Similarly at Gloucester cathedral the western towers were removed, and replaced by the present Perpendicular west front at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

I shall now endeavour to explain the *transformation* of the nave from Norman architecture to Perpendicular; and I use this word advisedly instead of *rebuilding*, for it will be shewn that the Norman core still remains in the piers and walls up to the parapet, and in many places the Norman ashlaring as well. Many of the piers on the south side, namely, the eight westerly ones, including the half pier, retain the Norman ashlaring, upon which the new moldings have been wrought. The Norman arches still remain behind the triforium. Norman shafts still remain above the present vault, as shewn by the annexed sketch, taken between the stone vault of the nave and the wooden roof, and representing one of the pockets, as they are called, of Wykeham's vault. Lastly, on the outside of the clerestory the Norman masonry and flat buttress may be seen running up between the Perpendicular windows.

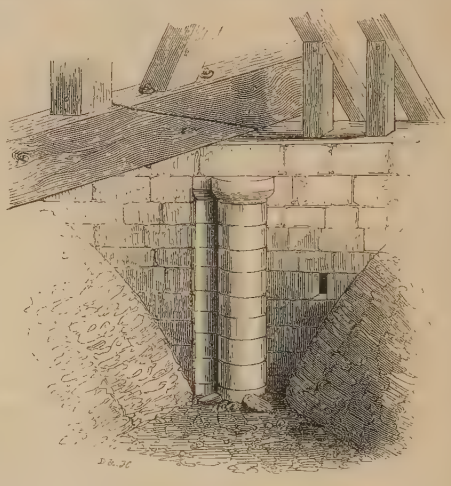


Fig. 31. Norman Shaft in Roof.

Besides, as already stated, in the neighbourhood of the roodloft, Norman shafts, once covered by the constructions appended to that edifice, are still to be seen[k], and in like manner in the southern side aisle part of the lower extremity of a Norman

[k] These Norman fragments are very much out of the perpendicular, and appear to indicate that the north side of the nave was in a bad state of repair, which may have occasioned the necessity for its rebuilding.

shaft appears, as shewn in the margin; this having been probably covered by some shrine or altar work.

From all these and similar appearances we are justified in saying that this part of the building was merely transformed, instead of being, as was the case with Canterbury nave, simply pulled down and rebuilt.

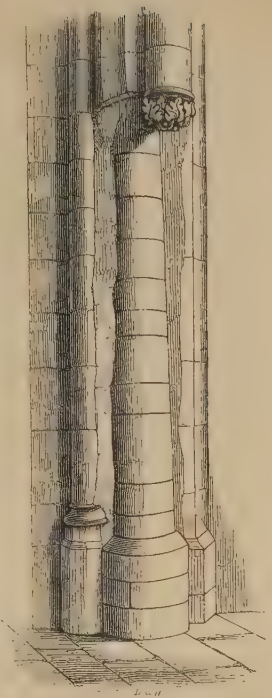


Fig. 32. Norman Shaft in South Aisle of Nave

I mention the nave of Canterbury because there is a very singular resemblance between the history of the two naves. Comparing for example the compartment of Canterbury nave[1] with the compartment of Winchester nave shewn below in page 71, the general arrangement of the two compositions will be found the same. But the pier-arch moldings of the former are much lighter and the piers more slender than those of the latter. This is due to the different construction, the one having been completely rebuilt, the other being a mere casing or refacing of a heavy Norman structure. So also the balcony of Winchester does not appear at Canterbury, and the panelling of the combined triforium and clerestory above, which in the former is set back in the middle and enriched with a frame of moldings, in the latter is all in one plane, because in the first case a thick Norman wall was to be dealt with and disguised. But the pattern of the tracery is the same in both examples, only that the Canterbury transom is higher in proportion. Also in both the opening of the triforium is pierced through the panel.

The side-aisle windows of Winchester are exactly the same as the clerestory windows. But in Canterbury the side-aisle windows differ totally from the clerestory windows, and the latter are the same as at Winchester. Now we have shewn that although the exact beginning of the rebuilding of Winchester nave is uncertain, yet that the parts in question, the compartments of the nave, are Wykeham's, and that he began his work in the November of 1394. There is every reason to

[1] Arch. History of Canterbury Cath., p. 121.

suppose that the rebuilding of Canterbury nave was begun about 1380, or a little later; it went on slowly, and was not finished till the beginning of the fifteenth century[m]. The two works therefore went on together. But at Canterbury they began by pulling down the old nave. At Winchester Wykeham laid out a scheme, by which the pulling down of the old nave might be spared. Like all sanguine contrivers, he at first carried out his scheme too far, retaining even the Norman ashlaring at the lower part of the piers, and so setting out and designing his piers, that it was necessary merely to cut Perpendicular moldings upon the edge of the undisturbed Norman stones. Either this was found more troublesome than the making of new ones, on account of the bad state of the stone work and the necessity of replacing and patching, or else the contrast (still to be seen) between the small Norman stones and thick mortar beds, with the large close-jointed stones of the new work, was found too offensive. Certain it is that this part of the scheme was abandoned after the first eight piers to the west on the south side were completed[n]. The remainder of the piers on the south, and the whole of the piers on the north side of the nave, are cased with new ashlar from the pavement upwards. (It must be remembered that Wykeham's will has shewn us that he began his work on the south side.) By this time the Canterbury nave must have been carried up to the pier-arches, and as their clerestory was changed to a pattern resembling that of Winchester, while Winchester remained the same in side aisles and clerestory, it is fair to conclude that the first was copied from the last.

As to the lierne vaults which both examples are covered with, and the invention of which some have attributed to Wykeham, they were employed in Bishop Hotham's work at Ely, about the year 1336, and in Gloucester cathedral a few years earlier, namely, when Wykeham was about ten years old[o], not to mention their universal employment in Germany and other parts of the continent.

The plan of the pier of the nave (fig. 33.) will shew how small the difference is between its original state and the present, and how great was the skill that enabled the architect to trans-

[m] Arch. Hist. of Canterbury Cath., p. 118.

[n] In the general plan these piers are distinguished from the rest by being made wholly black.

[o] He was born in the year 1324, (Louth, 3.)

form the heavy pier of the Norman work into a structure of so totally different a style. The lower or tinted half of this figure shews the pier as it stands, and below it is a profile of its arch-mold. But the upper half of the figure is double, and represents the present plan in comparison (by superposition) with the Norman pier. The difference between the two plans being tinted shews the portion of the old pier which was chipped away to convert it into the new one. The outlines which circumscribe both the upper half and the lower are the plans of the respective plinths; the Norman plinth being as usual disposed in successive squares, and the Perpendicular one in successive portions of octagons, which are equiangular under shafts, and irregular under the intermediate moldings.

If the Norman pier of the nave, as shewn in this plan, be compared with that of the Norman transept already given in fig. 3, above, it will appear that with one exception they are alike. In fact, from *I* to *D* (the same letters are placed on corresponding parts in both figures), they are identical. But in the nave-pier an additional square edge *C* is introduced, which does not appear in the transept. The shaft *A* and the square edge *B* behind it are the same in both.

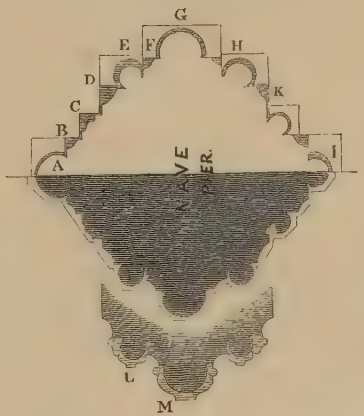


Fig. 33. Plan of Nave Pier.

The Norman pier consists of shafts *A*, *E*, *G*, *H*, *K*, and *I*, between which are placed square pier-edges as usual. In Wykeham's pier all that was done consisted in reducing the surface of the Norman shafts and adding moldings to the intermediate edges. The first was necessary because the Norman shafts are seldom upright, and their surface is not truly worked. This re-facing or re-working the masonry reduced the diameter of the shafts as shewn, and in addition to this the edge of each square was chamfered off and worked either into a casement or a swelled chamfer, as the figure shews. It is wonderful how completely these moldings have converted a

pier so essentially Norman into one of so totally different a character[p].

In the western tower-piers (fig. 9. above,) the edges were also chamfered (as at *K*.) This will appear by comparing the group of shafts and pier edges at *K* with the similar group in its original state at *P* (in fig. 10.)

In fig. 34. the process of transformation is further illustrated by placing in juxtaposition an elevation of one compartment in its original Norman state, and an elevation of another in its present state. The Norman compartment is divided vertically into pier-arch, triforium, and clerestory, and these three members are nearly of equal altitude. The Norman shafts and capitals which still remain on the north side of the nave, where they were covered with the ancient rood-screen, shew that the pier-arches of the nave sprang from the same height as those of the transepts. Again the Norman main arch of the triforium still exists, as we shall presently see, in every compartment over the vault of the side aisles, by which it is proved that the triforium arch of the nave was at the same level within a few inches as that of the transepts.

Also the tops of the Norman shafts which separated the compartments are still to be seen over the vault of the nave, (fig. 31 above) exactly the same in form as those in the transepts.

These evidences make it certain that the nave was like the transepts in the general arrangement at least. Whether it had moldings added to it cannot be now ascertained, and if it had it would not vitiate the restoration in the figure, which is intended only to shew the general disposition and proportion of the composition.

The compartment of Wykeham's nave is divided into two parts vertically, instead of three; for although it has a triforium gallery, yet this is so completely subordinated to the clerestory window that it cannot be held as a separate division of the composition, as in the Norman work, where the triforium compartment is of equal importance and similar in its decoration to the other two, although not exactly like them. In Wykeham's work, on the contrary, we find above the lofty pier-arch what at first sight appears to be a clerestory window, divided at

[p] Britton's plate 3 contains a double plan somewhat similar to mine. But his plan assumes that the nave-pier was the same as that of the transept, overlooking the additional square edge *C*, so that the new pier, instead of being produced by a mere skinning of the old one, is made to project in front beyond it, which the Norman ashlaring that some of them retain shews not to have been the case.

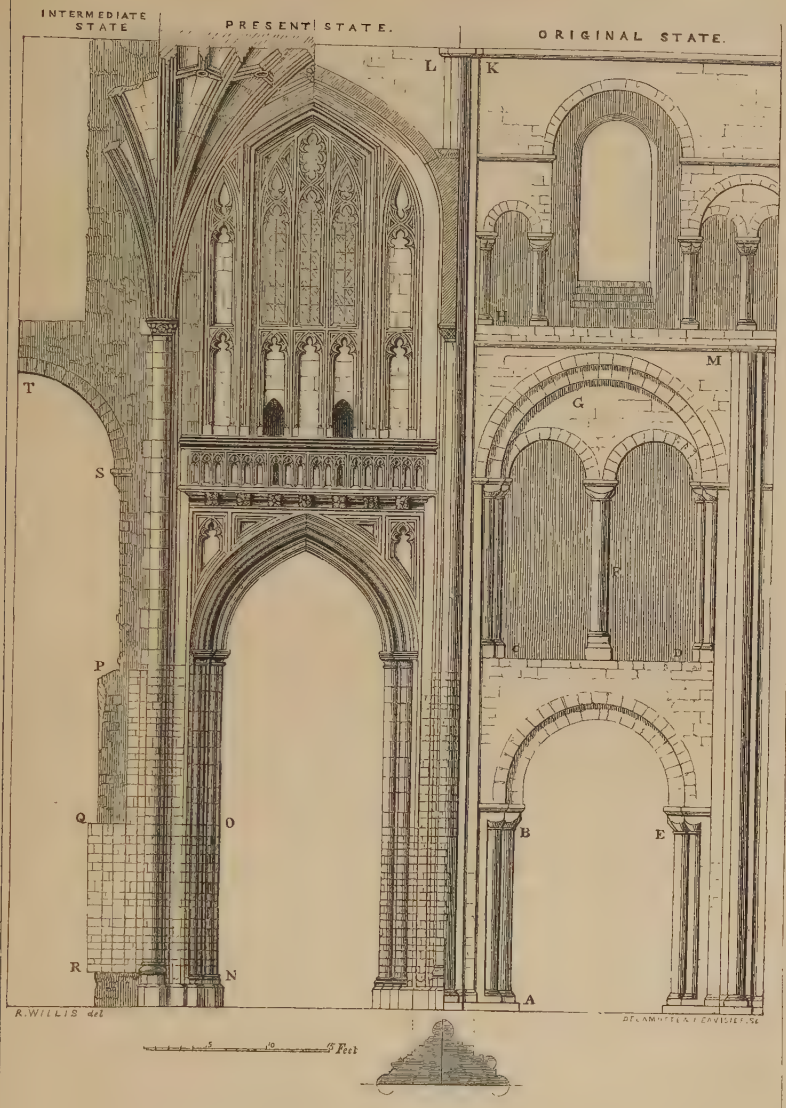


Fig. 31. Compartment of Nave.

mid-height by a transom, and recessed under a deeply molded archway. But it is above the transom only that the real window is formed, by glazing the spaces between the monials. Below the transom these spaces are filled with panels, and two narrow openings cut through the latter give access from the roof to a kind of balcony, which projects over the pier-arches. In each compartment this balcony exists, but there is no free passage from one to another; to reach any one of them it is necessary to scramble over the tops of the vaults, at the risk of tumbling headlong into their pockets, as they are technically termed. This mode of uniting the triforium and clerestory by the employment of a transom dividing the stone panels (or orbs) of the former from the glazed lights of the latter, is common enough at the period of Wykeham's work, and before it, but the balcony is unusual.

We have now to consider the process by which the Norman structure was converted into that which we have just described.

The pier-arch and mass of masonry, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, was entirely removed, leaving, however, the pier *A*, *B*, (shorn of its bases and capitals). Also the pillar *F* above, and the double arch *G*, which rested on it, was taken down. The arch over this would of course remain, and indeed the back part of it does, to this day. The clerestory arches and the window behind were also taken down, but the piers between were left standing, to the very top of the wall. It must be remembered that a Norman structure consists of a mere shell of wrought stonework or ashlaring, applied against a central mass or core of hard rubble work firmly compacted together, so firmly indeed that in most cases the ashlaring or skin, arch-voussoirs and all, may be entirely taken away and the rubble structure will stand firmly for ages. Examples of this may often be seen in Norman ruins when the ashlaring has been stripped for building material, while the rubble has not been worth the labour of destruction. Thus at Bury St. Edmund's, Thetford, Binham, Castle Acre, and in many other monastic ruins, Norman rubble walls still stand upright without a particle of ashlaring remaining. This process is assisted by the very slight bond which these rude workmen thought it necessary to establish between the skin and the body of the work, as well as by the superabundant and unnecessary strength which the enormous dimensions of their walls gave to the buildings, and which

made them quite able to stand alone when they had lost their ashlar decoration. It is necessary fully to understand this before we can conceive the possibility of such changes as those which we have now to investigate.

I have shewn that the lower arches were cut away from between the piers, and the upper work also taken down, leaving only the separating piers themselves, which stood untouched from the pavement to the top of the wall, and connected by one range of the original arches only, namely, those of the triforium. Besides this, the ashlaring was stripped off the whole inner face of the rubble, with the exception of a small portion of pier below. The left hand portion of fig. 34 shews half of a compartment of the Norman work in this intermediate[q] state, as seen from the nave. On the other side of the pier the ashlaring was left undisturbed throughout the greatest part of it. Thus at the top the flat Norman buttress may still be seen on the leads under the clerestory, dividing the Perpendicular windows; and in the roof of the triforium, as already stated, the arches, *S T*, still remain, and are separated by the usual flat Norman buttress.

The portion of ashlaring on the outside of the piers at *P*, *Q*, *R*, which was allowed to remain, was wrought into Perpendicular moldings, a process which was comparatively easy, because, as I have shewn, the plan of the new pier was very little different from that of the old one. However, in the later parts of the work this small portion of the original ashlar was entirely removed, as I have already explained.

The eastern extremities of the side aisles of the nave, as seen in the transepts, illustrate this process of transformation very completely. One of these compartments is shewn in the elevation fig. 1 above, at *E*, *G*, *F*, *H*. The lower part has undergone the process of conversion from Norman to Perpendicular. The upper half remains in its original state. Fig. 35 is a view of the same two compartments of the triforium. But this view is taken from within, the artist standing upon the undulated upper surface of the vault of Wykeham's side aisle. The right hand compartment of the triforium

[q] For the sake of illustration, I have represented the building in its intermediate state, completely stripped, thus shewing how much of the old was retained. But in the actual process the ashlaring was probably taken off and replaced in small portions at a time, so that no compartment of the building ever appeared at any one moment in the state here represented.

retains its Norman double sub-arching; but in the left compartment the double sub-arch has been removed, as well as its central pillar. Wykeham's pier-arch and vault rises high above the original floor of the triforium, and his balcony appears nearly covering the front of the original triforium arch. The Norman shaft and capital that carried the sub-arch may be seen half absorbed in the new masonry.

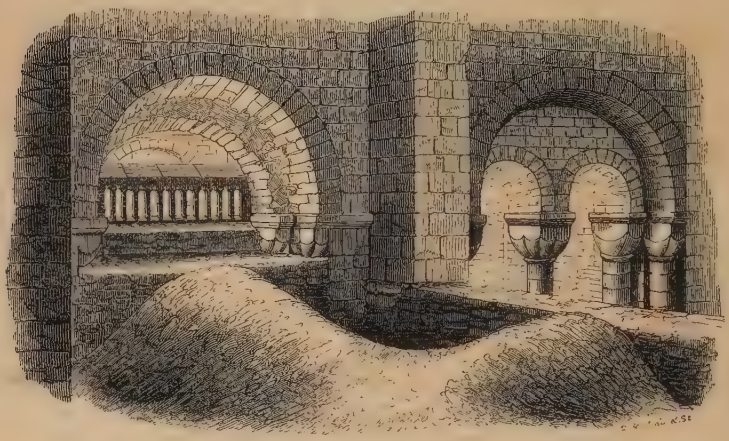


Fig. 35 View from the Roof

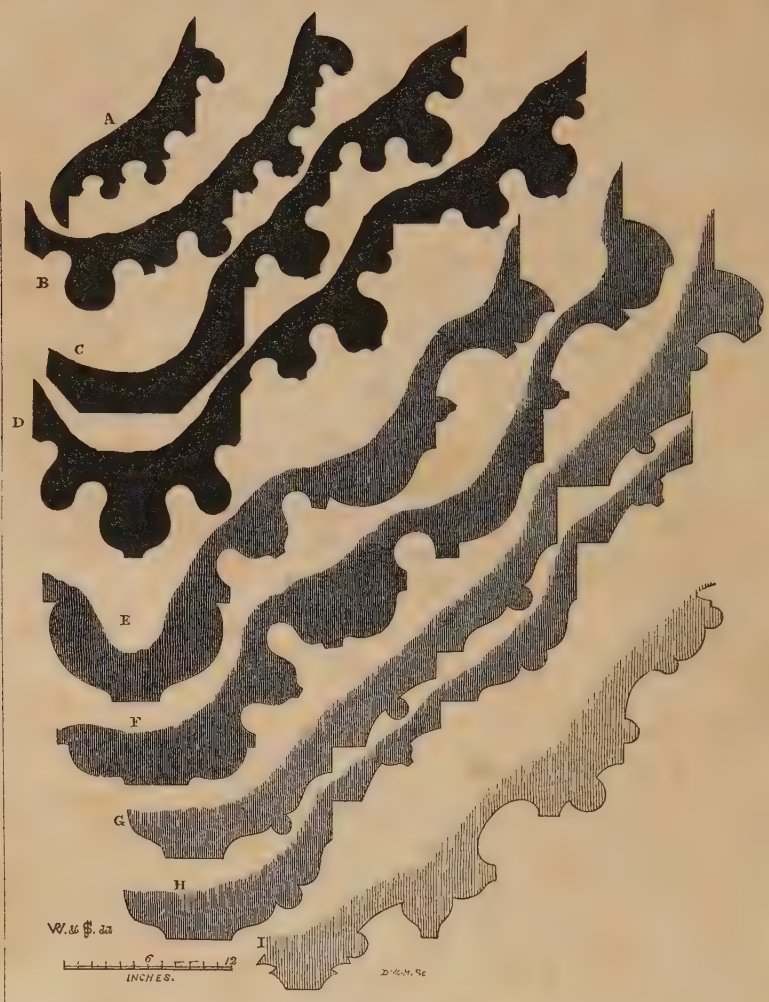
I have said that the design of the Norman nave was essentially the same as that of the transepts, with one difference, which I shall now explain more minutely. Comparing the two piers, fig. 3 and fig. 33, I have shewn that the pier of the nave has one member in addition, namely, a square edge *C*, next to the nave. As this square edge (now decorated with a swelled chamfer) lies on that part of the Norman ashlaring that runs up the middle of the pier as high as *P* (fig. 34), instead of stopping at *Q*, it could not have belonged to the pier-arch shafts. Also the remaining Norman shafts at the top of the wall (*L*, *K*, fig. 34, and fig. 31) shew that no additional edge was present there. Hence I infer that this edge was disposed of as I have shewn in the elevation, namely, that it carried an arch over the triforium. A similar arrangement is to be found elsewhere, as for example at Norwich and at Romsey. The shafts *L*, *K*, are not to be found in every compartment. If the piers of the nave be numbered from the west end, calling the half pier 1, it will be observed that these shafts only run up to the roof over piers

2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12. These piers are marked in the general plan with *O*.[r] They are in fact alternately disposed in the western part of the nave, but are given to every pier in the eastern part, extending as far as the steps to the choir. As the part of the church which contains the choir was probably built first, and the rest of the nave afterwards, it is not surprising to find such a change of plan; indeed, this is very commonly the case. In my elevation of the original state (fig. 34) I have shewn one pier running up (as at *L*, *K*,) and the next stopping short at *M;* and farther, I have supposed the clerestory above to follow the same design as that of the transepts over the pier, which, like the one in question, stops short (at *D*, fig. 1).

The monuments in this cathedral consist of a very fine series of chantry chapels, beginning with that of Bishop Edingdon, and ending with Bishop Gardiner. As it forms no part of my plan to describe these, which, indeed, could only be done by the help of elaborate engravings, I shall content myself with inserting their dates in the following list of the dated examples of architecture, with which I conclude this essay on Winchester cathedral.

[r] This remark applies to the piers on the north as well as on the south side, although the reference is only marked on the latter in the plan.

ARCH-MOLDS.

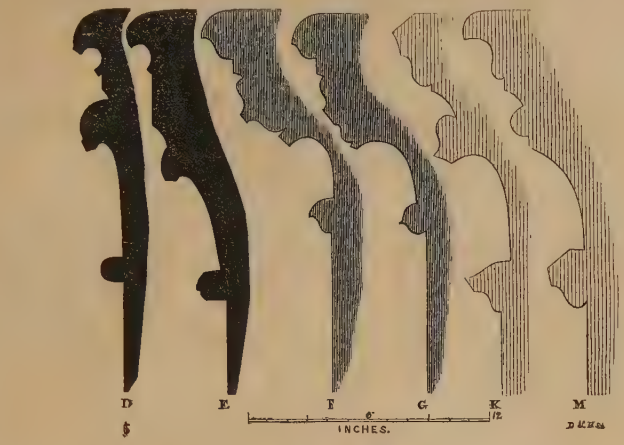


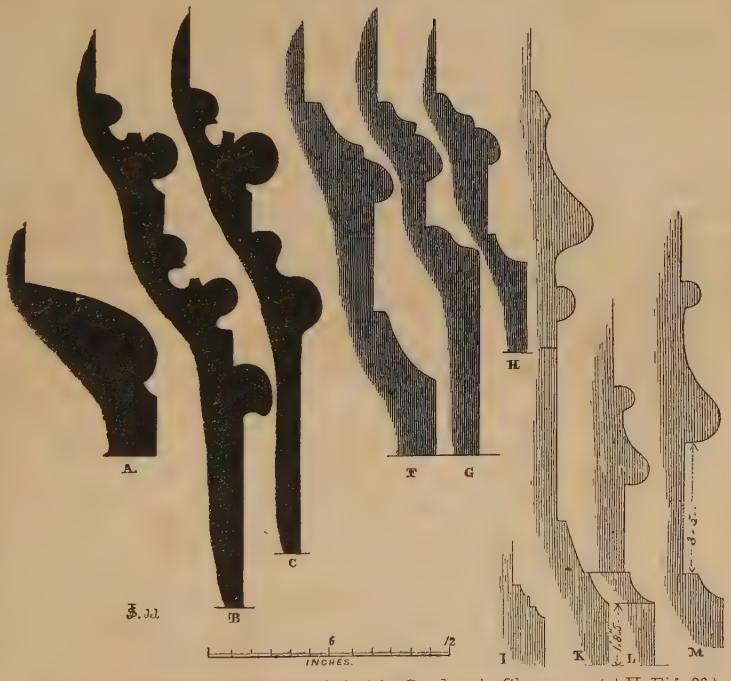
A. Arcade on the ground, in De Lucy's Aisles.
B. Arcade of the Trefoil-arches at the upper part of the wall of the Lady Chapel.
C. Pier-arches of De Lucy's Aisles.
D. Arch between these Aisles and their Eastern Chapels.
E. Eastern Arches of the Presbytery. (AB, CD, Fig. 19.)
F. North-eastern Arch of do. (GK, Fig. 19.)
G. South-eastern do. (FM, Fig. 19.)
H. The remaining Arches of the Presbytery. (KL, MN &c. Fig. 19.)
I Arch of the Western Porch.

N.B.—The Pier-arch of the Nave is shewn in Fig. 33.

Capitals and Bases.

The same letters of reference are employed in the corresponding figures.





A. Base of Norman Shaft, remaining in Gardner's Chantry. (at V, Fig. 36.)
B. Respond Pier of De Lucy's Work.
C. Central Piers of do.
D, E. Lady Chapel.
F. Piers of the Presbytery.
G. North-east Pier of Presbytery. (K, Fig. 19.)
H. Eastern Piers of the Presbytery. (A, B, D, Fig. 19.)
I. Edingdon's Work in the Nave. K. Nave Pier.
L. Side Aisle of Nave. M. Side Aisle of Presbytery.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN AND LIST OF DATED EXAMPLES.

The parts of the cathedral are represented in block merely, that is to say, each pier, instead of being laid down with all its shafts and moldings, is represented as a simple mass bounded by straight lines which follow, or rather circumscribe, the general outline. The windows also are omitted. Thus the appearance of the plan is simplified. The different periods of the work are indicated by different tints of shading. Their history has been minutely investigated in the preceding pages, by comparing the records with the building, but unfortunately much of it rests upon induction. The results to which I have arrived may be summed up as follows:—(1.) The complete Norman cathedral was erected by Walkelin; commenced in 1079, and so far completed in 1093 that the monks entered it. Of this building the transepts remain; the plan of its east end is preserved in its crypt, and the extent and plan of its western portion shewn in the masonry concealed behind and within Wykeham's work, and by the foundations lately exposed in front of the present building and shewn in this plan. The transepts, however, were erected with changes of plan, explained in the second chapter. (2.) The tower fell in 1107. The piers of the present tower, and the four in immediate connection with them in the transepts, are the result of this event. (3.) De Lucy's work was begun in 1202 in the Early English style. The outside wall was first erected, without disturbing the Norman Lady Chapel. Then this Lady Chapel and the circular aisle and towers of the great apse were taken down, and the piers and vault of the new work erected. (4.) The apse itself was taken down and the present polygonal Decorated termination substituted, apparently about 1320. Of this work only the north arch and the eastern arches remain; the north arch is later in style and differently connected with De Lucy's work. (5.) The Norman clerestory and triforium of the remainder of the presbytery, namely, between the apse and the tower, were next taken down, about 1350, under Edingdon, and their Norman side-aisles still remaining, the masonry in front of them was so far reduced as to allow the present piers, arches, and clerestory to be erected in front. The arrangement of these, being copied from the eastern compartment, appears rather earlier than its moldings and windows. On the other hand, the tracery of the clerestory windows of this presbytery, which belongs to the second period, was also inserted into the eastern compartments, and thus on the whole it happens that these windows appear later than the design of the presbytery. (6.) The further progress of the

presbytery was abandoned, and the west end of the nave taken down by Edingdon before 1366 (the year of his death.) His work consists of the present west end with its great window, and of the north and south outer wall of the side-aisle, including one and two compartments respectively, as shewn by the different tint in the plan. (7.) The complete transformation of the nave was begun in 1394, by Wykeham on the south side, left incomplete at his death in 1404, and finished by his successors. (8.) The Lady Chapel was lengthened eastward by Priors Hunton and Silkstede, between 1470 and 1524. (9.) The Norman side-aisles of the presbytery were taken down and replaced by the present ones, in imitation of Wykeham's aisles in the nave, by Bishop Fox and Prior Silkstede, between 1500 and 1528. The side screens of the presbytery were also erected in 1524.

The smaller dated works are the chantries, which were probably erected during the life of the persons by whom they were founded. This is recorded in the case of Wykeham, in his will.

Reference to Plan		
(4)	Edingdon's Chantry	1345 to 1366
(1)	Wykeham's Chantry	1367 to 1404
(11)	Beaufort's Chantry	1405 to 1447
(10)	Waynflete's Chantry	1447 to 1486
(0)	Langton's Chantry	1493 to 1500
(9)	Fox's Chantry	1500 to 1528
(8)	Gardiner's Chantry	1531 to 1555
Silkstede's Chapel in south transept, and (5)	Pulpit in choir	1498 to 1524

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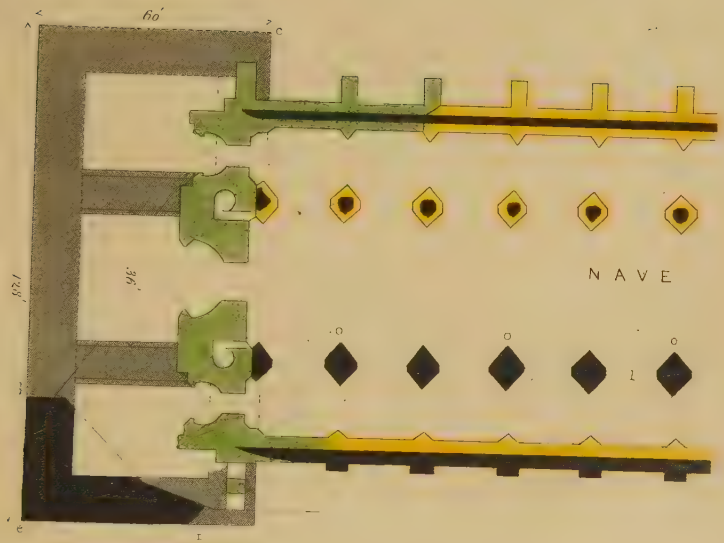
FIG. 36.



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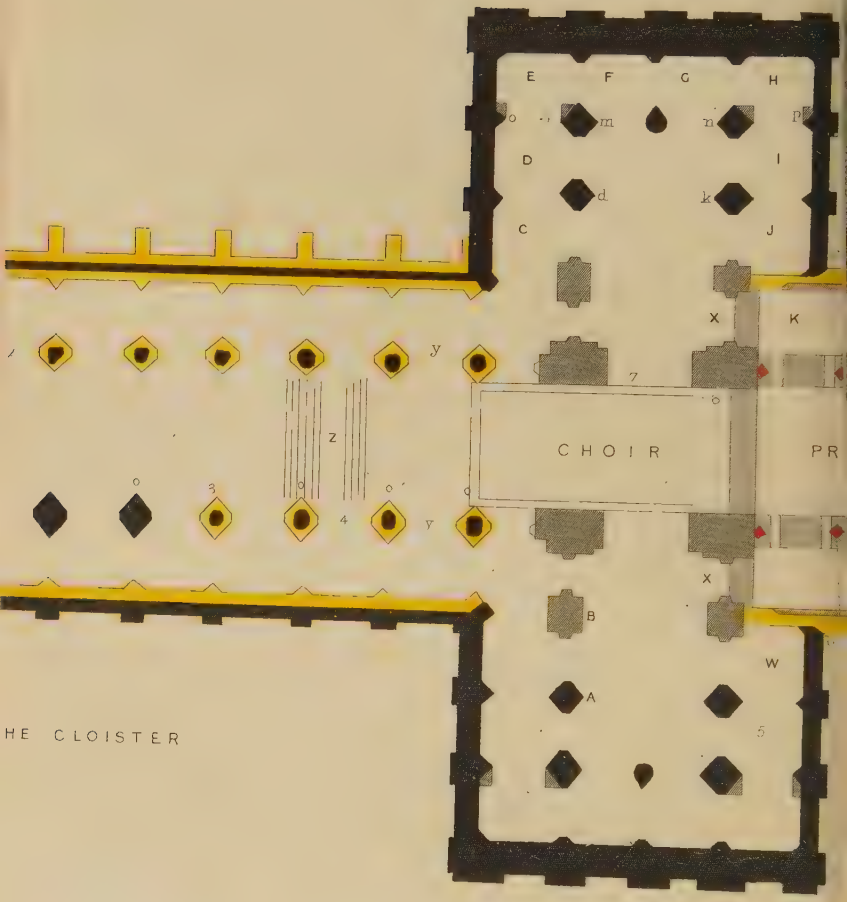

Scale of Feet.

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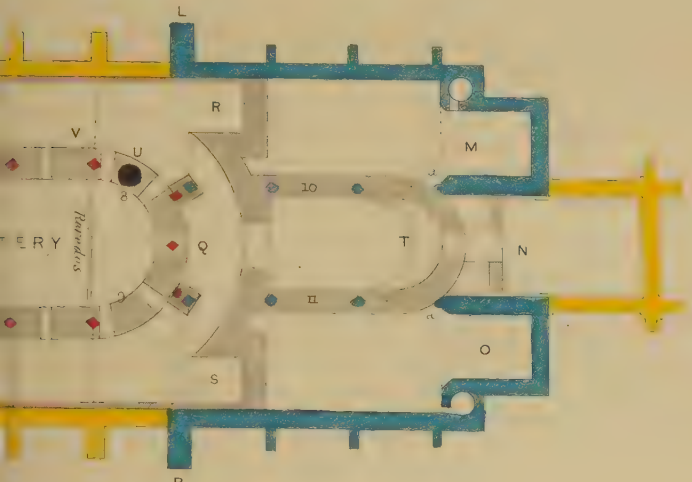


Crypt.

Walkelin's Work.

Tower Piers, &c Re-built.

De Lucy's Work.

Decorated Piers of the Presbitery.

Edingdon's Work.

Wykeham's & subsequent Works.

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

The institutions and the acts of William of Wykeham as an ecclesiastic and a statesman, have been recorded by the ablest historians; but as a master of the "ars regina," through which primarily he attained so high a station in the annals and the hearts of his countrymen, he has never been sufficiently celebrated. The master mind has been appreciated, but the master builder has never been duly illustrated: yet it is the union of the man of taste with the man of business, "the counsellor" with "the cunning artificer," which enables us by their mutual reflection to understand and explain so much better the extraordinary success of his life, and the beauty and depth of his character.

Presented to the discerning monarch, Edward III., in 1346, by his early patron, Sir Nicholas Uvedale, governor of Winchester castle, at the age of 23, with no other advantages than his skill in architecture (and the courtly attribute of a comely person, according to Anthony Wood,) of humble birth and education, he was, however, in the short space of 21 years, promoted through civil and ecclesiastical grades, to be Bishop of Winchester, and Lord High Chancellor of these realms; his abilities, address, and intrinsic merits were not therefore inferior to his fortunes, and he ranks amongst those highly gifted spirits, upon whom occasionally and for special ends, nature delights to lavish her choicest favours.

The precise services to which he was appointed during the first ten years are not recorded; but in the siege of Calais, after the battle of Crecy, and the fortification of that city in 1347, in the naval and military offensive operations against France, Spain, and Scotland, as well as in defensive preparations in England, during that period, the king must have had great need of engineers and architects. We may judge, however, of their nature more particularly by the works which the king had already on hand at that time, both at Westminster, where

the royal chapel of St. Stephen's was an object of great solicitude and expense, and at Windsor, where, as the respectable Walsingham assures us, "anno gratiæ 1344, &c., Rex &c. fecit convocari plures artifices ad castrum de Windesore, et cœpit edificare domum quæ *rotunda Tabula*[a] vocaretur: habuit autem ejus area, à centro ad circumferentiam, per semidiametrum centum pedes; et sic, diametrum ducentorum pedum erat—expensæ per hebdomadam erant primò centum libræ—sed ex post propter nova quæ rex suscepit de Francia resecabantur ad 20*l.* &c." (Tho. Walsingham Hist. Ang. p. 154., fol. Lond. 1574.)

The earliest recorded appointment we are aware of, is that by the patent conferred upon Wykeham in 1356, as clerk of all the king's works in his manors of Henle and Yeshampsted, in the neighbourhood of Windsor, and another in the same year, by which he was appointed *surveyor* of his majesty's works in the castle of Windsor, the birth-place of the magnanimous monarch, which he meant to illustrate by new and extensive buildings, after the designs and under the superintendance of William of Wykeham, "cujus operis," as

[a] Ashmole (whom all the subsequent writers have followed in his interpretation of this precise and very clear passage) has indulged his professional tastes in supposing the round table and the enormous expenses employed upon it (scarcely less than £1,500 of present money per week) to have been literally that used, and those expenses consumed, by the knights invited to the solemn feasts and tournaments during this year at Windsor; but the following records (which I owe to the research and the kindness of Mr. E. Smirke) shew that a much more substantial work was referred to, and not improbably the magnificent keep, which is still the admiration of all beholders, and was certainly the largest tower in England, and perhaps any other country at that day—it is about 100ft. in diameter, and was doubtless surrounded with an outwork which completed the diameter of 200 ft.

In a roll of works in the exchequer records of the 17 and 18 Edw. III., (A.D. 1344-5,) are sundry payments for making the bridges of Windsor more secure, and fit to sustain the weights of carriages bringing materials for the building called the *Round Table.*

"In 2 carressis cum 2 hominibus conductis cariantibus arenam pro pontibus castri cum dictâ arenâ cooperiendis ne frangerentur cum magno cariagio *Tabulæ rotundæ* per 2 dies, 2*s.* 8*d.* &c." (Records at Carlton ride.)

In the same year are writs for impressing masons for the Windsor works, enrolled at the Tower (Rot. Patent, 18 Ed. III., part I. mem. 39; part II. mem. 39,) and again a long roll of works headed thus:—

"Contra rotulus fratris Johannis de Walround &c.; de diversis expensis *circa fundationem domus rotundæ* infra castrum de Windesore à 16 Febr. usque 27 Nov. seq." Then follow numerous payments for labour and materials—stone of many places in and out of Eng'and, timber, &c. &c., amongst the rest "pro 40,000 Tegulis emptis, pro cooperturâ *murorum Domus Tabulæ rotundæ,* et pro cooperturâ petrarum ibidem, pretii milleni 2s.:—£4 pro carriagio earundem del penne usque Wyndesore—10s. pro 6,000 lathis—20s. pro 40,000 pynnis pro tegulis 3s. 4d., pro 32,000 lath nails pretii milleni 7½d.—20s. pro 44,000 bord nails, 13s. 4d. &c. &c."

All these expenses are very large, and similar accounts occur every year to the last year of his reign.

In the issue roll, 30 Edw. III., there are accounts rendered for 52 oaks taken for the round Table at Windsor. Thus it is clear that the *round Table* in these accounts means a building, and a pretty solid one, and may fully bear out Walsingham.

A *Ancient Domus Regis.*

B *Chapel of St. George, as built by*

Edward III. and again by Edw. IV.

C *Western ward, or Bailey.*

D *Central ward, or Bailey.*

E *Keep, probable Tabula rotunda.*

F *Eastern ward, or Bailey, built by Edw. I*

G H I *Brick Court, Horn Court, Kitchen Co*

K *King & Queen's apartments.*

L *Chapel.*

M *Hall.*

N *Court apartments.*

O *Castle Gate.*

P *Palace Gate.*

PLAN OF WINDSOR CASTLE.

orsley, Esq. R.A. etc.

Walsingham says, "constituit supervisorem Dominum Wilhelmum de Wickam, virum providum et discretum."

It appears that the original castle consisted of two wards or baileys only, namely the western, and the keep; and that the eastern bailey was the new work projected by the king, and for which Wykeham's talents were engaged.

The college of the new order of the Garter was now designed to occupy the ancient Domus Regis to the west of the keep, while the new palace was to constitute another ward or bailey, to the east, in the extended plan in which it appears at the present day; and although the frequent additions and alterations of the external fashion of its architecture have swept away almost all the traces of Wykeham's *hand*, yet it is highly interesting to remark in the disposition of the plan, all those arrangements and provisions of a master *mind*, which have been, on the whole, preserved to the present day: neither requiring nor indeed admitting of any material change.

We also recognise the same principle of disposition in the plan which guided his better preserved works of Winchester and Oxford colleges.

The accompanying plate (No. 1.) serves to explain the general disposition of Windsor castle and its new ward. The external curtain wall could not of course admit of any openings or windows save those for the necessary gates and loop-holes for defence; light and ventilation therefore could only be obtained from within. Against this curtain wall is disposed a continuous building round the whole, consisting to the south of apartments for the court and household, and towards the precipice on the north, of the king's apartments, near the keep also; thus doubly defended: these were amply lighted and ventilated from the quadrangle.

Parallel with the north side is another range of building forming the front towards the quadrangle, receiving light on both sides, and connected with the north range, by four transverse ranges, of obvious convenience for suite and communication; and forming three courts, called brick-court[b], horn-court, and kitchen-court.

The hall and chapel, divided by a partition wall, form the

[b] This title suggests the probability that the king and his Flemish queen may have indulged here in the use of this newly imported material; indeed, Wykeham may gladly have exercised his skill in brick-work, and illustrated by such an example so valuable a practice in this country.

continuous range to the south; as at New College, and at Winchester; communicating with the royal apartments by transverse apartments.

Many interesting details, both of the arrangements and external architecture, and particularly Wykeham's ingenious structure of the hall roof, are preserved to us by Hollar in Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter; and others, not published, are to be found in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, in the MS. 1131. fol. 168, relating to the chapel arrangements, the architecture of the roof and ceiling, &c.

The activity employed and the cost of this magnificent work may be understood by the impress of 360 masons[c] from different counties, with security taken that they should not depart without licence from the surveyor: and by the expenditure of the last of the seven years of Wykeham's superintendance, which amounted to £3,802, at least £50,000 of present money. This great work was the real foundation of his fortunes, which his triumph and his gratitude prompted him to acknowledge by an equivocal superscription on one of the towers, "This made Wickham[d]," interpreted indeed by his enemies as an arrogant assumption of the glory which was due to his royal master. But the obvious reading was an occasion of increased favour: and preferments, civil and ecclesiastical, were heaped upon him. "He now reigned at court," says Froissart, "every thing being done by him and nothing without him;" a position entirely justified by the extraordinary variety of capacities in which he appeared there,—as commissioner for political treaties[e], qualified for the woolsack by his legal[f] attainments, as dean and

[c] My accomplished friend, Mr. Barry, the modern Wykeham, informs me that the number of masons and carvers employed at the new palace of Westminster during the last six years averages 345—the number at Christmas, 1840, being 174, and at Christmas, 1845, 447 masons—as a comparative scale of magnitude and energy employed in these great works this fact cannot fail to be interesting.

[d] This story is given on the authority of Archbishop Parker. Lowth discredits it as a popular tradition only. (Life of Wykeham, p. 20.) But that such a practice was admitted is proved by the record of the archbishop, "Birmingham" in the front of York cathedral, and many other instances.

[e] 1360 he attended the king as his private secretary, at Calais, to advise on the treaty of Bretigny; and in 1365 he was commissioner for the ransom of David, king of Scotland. In his return of ecclesiastical income to Pope Urban V., in consequence of his bull against pluralities, he admits from that source alone (the Church) 873*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, an income fully equal to 10,000 per annum of present money.

[f] In illustration of the presumed incompatibility of these employments, the author of the "Lives of the Chancellors of England," Lord Campbell, says "an analogous case would be if Mr. Barry, as a recompence for his excellent *plan* for the new houses of parliament, were now to be made lord chancellor."

Now analogy may exist where resemblance is small, and this term always requires its qualifications, as just, logical, tasteful or otherwise. Let us see how they

prebendary in the Church, and equally qualified for the mitre, and as civil and military architect, conducting original works of great expense and importance in both departments.

The king and his fair queen, Philippa, were the patrons of taste as well as chivalry. Chaucer, Gower, and Froissart were honoured, and literature flourished. Hugh de St. Alban and Walter of Colchester, (whose works were sought even from the continent[g],) and a school of painters and sculptors not only encouraged, but *impressed* from all the counties of England, added lustre to the court; and in architecture especially the king delighted.

During the greater part of his reign, from 1330 to 1362, the chapel of St. Stephen, at the palace of Westminster, was a constant source of interest and expense; and, as in the case of Windsor, a compulsory press of artificers, sculptors, and painters was issued, by writs directed to the sheriffs of all the counties of England, who were under penalty of £2,400 (of present money) to send the artisans; each of whom were besides to give security for their engagement; and it was a matter of difficulty and danger to obtain them for any other works.

In 1359 Wykeham was by another royal patent elected to the higher office of chief warden as well as surveyor of the king's castles of Windsor, Ledes, Dover, and Hadlam, which were now to be put into an efficient state of defence: for the warlike and aggressive monarch had great reason to apprehend reprisals on his coast.

In 1360 he was made dean of St. Martin's-le-grand, an appointment which he held about three years, during which

apply to the present case. Law at that time was exercised almost exclusively by the clergy, and its practice formed therefore a part of Wykeham's education. That learned profession was unquestionably in a much simpler and more elementary state than in the present day; and chiefly required those qualifications which are attributed equally to Sir William Wykeham, and Mr. Barry; namely a tried integrity, uncommon acuteness, ingenuity, knowledge, and tact in business.—And that these qualifications sufficed is proved by the fact that Wykeham held this situation during four years under Edward III., and (after this trial of his ability) for two years under Richard II.

It cannot be said therefore, that Wykeham was an ephemeral chancellor, the creation of favour and of a few weeks office. Nor can his competency, or his integrity be more questioned now than it was then, nor Mr. Barry be disparaged by an illogical comparison of dissimilars.

[g] "Richard II. granted a licence to Cosmo Gentiles, the Pope's collector in England, in 1382, to export three great images of the Virgin Mary, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and a small image of the Holy Trinity, without paying any duty or custom for them; which seems to indicate that certain customs were then payable on the exportation of such commodities."—Henry's History of Britain, vol. viii. p. 296.

time he generously rebuilt, in a very handsome manner, and at a very great expense, the cloister of the chapter-house, and the body of the church. These were sold and demolished at the suppression of the monasteries under Edward the Sixth, and a tavern (says Maitland) erected in its stead. The clearing away of the whole of this site in the erection of the new Post Office brought nothing to light which could convey any distinct conception of Wykeham's church.

It was in the island of Sheppey, at the mouth of the Thames and Swale, that, in 1361, by the command of the king, he advised and executed his original work, the castle of Queenbro', (so called from Queen Philippa,) "for the strength of the realm and the refuge of the inhabitants." The nature of the ground and the lowness of the situation did not discourage him, and the event served to display more evidently the skill and abilities of the architect.

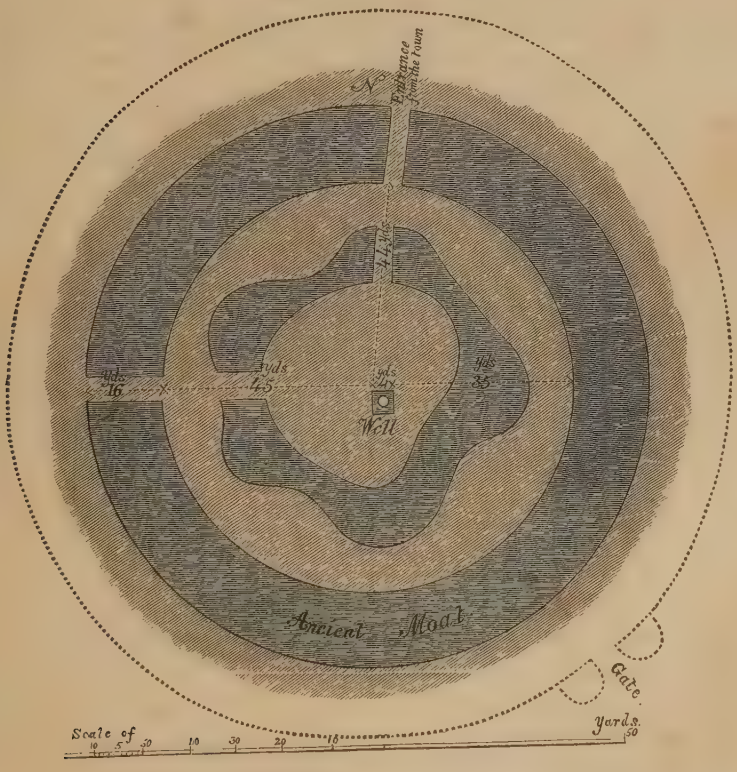
It is thus reported by a survey under the commonwealth in 1650, just before it was destroyed:—

"It contained about 12 rooms of one range of building below stairs, and about 40 rooms from the first story upwards, being circular and built of stone, with six towers and certain out-offices thereto belonging; all the roof being covered with lead. Within the circumference of the castle was one little round court, paved with stone, and in the middle of that one great well; that it *contained three acres, one rood, and eleven perches of land* —the whole much out of repair, and no ways defensive by the commonwealth or the island on which it stood, being built in the time of bows and arrows—that as no platform for the planting of cannon could be erected on it, and it having no command of the sea, although near unto it, they adjudged it not fit to be kept, but demolished, and that the materials were worth, besides the charge of taking down, £1,792 12*s.* 0½*d.*"

Hollar has preserved the figure of Queenbro' castle, (published by Grose, vol. iii. p. 90,) which, compared with the actual remains, explains that the keep was in plan like a *five-leaved rose*, of about 200 feet diameter, with five smaller circular towers between them, and a square tower over the entrance; the *leaves* are large, and afford platforms, from which the defenders might discharge their missiles; the latter by their great elevation compensate for the flatness of the site, and give advantage for the direction of the quarrel with more fatal effect. Another peculiarity to remark is that the moat surrounding the keep was *enclosed within* the outer wall, indicated by a dotted line, of which wall no remains are

now existing; but supposing this to have stood about twenty yards from the moat (affording the necessary slipe) we reconcile the computation of the commissioners with regard to the area, which would otherwise be excessive.

This boundary wall appears by Hollar's view to have had two circular towers at the gateway, making with the keep altogether an imposing group. At this moment nothing but the well and the moat and the general outline of the keep can be traced. The walls having been built on piles, were readily removed, and the materials are now pointed out in some more recent habitations of the old town. The circular plan displays the geometrician, as enclosing within a given circumference (and that a very extensive one) the largest area, for the refuge of the people, of which it was capable; and



PLAN.

the whole design is economical and ingenious, and singularly

characteristic of the times. It occupied six years in building, and was finished in 1367, when its royal master, accompanied by the queen, took possession. In addition to these military works of Wykeham, there is a fair presumption both from incidental historical notices, as well as evidence of structure, that the castles of Winchester, Porchester, Wolvesey, Ledes, Dover, with others of his own see, were all fortified, repaired, and enlarged by his master hand.

From 1367, his preferment to the see of Winchester and his elevation to the woolsack, till 1371, his occupations were too high and important to allow him to indulge his taste in architecture; but on his retirement from office in the latter year, he repaired his various episcopal palaces, (10 or 12 says Lowth,) expending 20,000 marks (about £160,000 of present money), in these various works; purchasing the quarries of Quarrer Abbey, Isle of Wight, for the purpose, and employing the stone of Caen, for the more elaborate portions of the architecture; following the example of his royal master, by the issue of circular letters to the ecclesiastics, regular and secular, "to send as many workmen, carriages, and other necessaries for the work as they could supply him."

Of the great works of his life, the colleges, we shall speak more at length in the succeeding pages—these seemed to be the chief subject of his contemplation from 1371 to 1396.

It was not until 1394 that he undertook the reformation of the cathedral at Winchester, the last architectural operation of his life; which may be termed the epitome of his professional history as a consummate architect and engineer; displaying all that conception, boldness, experience, skill, and taste, and exact calculation of means to ends, for which he was so remarkable.

The old Norman cathedral was cast nearly throughout its length and breadth into a new form; the double tier of arches in its peristyle was turned into one, by the removal of the lower arch, and clothed with Caen casings in the Perpendicular style. The old wooden ceilings were replaced with stone vaultings, enriched with elegant carvings and recognizances. Scarcely less than a total rebuilding is involved in this hazardous and expensive operation, carried on during ten years with a systematic order worthy of remark and imitation. William of Winford was his executive architect, wholly confined to the care and advancement of the work, while his faithful surveyor

Simon de Membury controlled the expense; John Wayte, on the part of the convent, controlled the expenditure and supply of all scaffolding, chalk, and sand; which they had agreed to furnish. Judging from the provision of his will of the expenditure for the last year and half, the cost of this great work to the bishop in present money cannot be estimated at less than £200,000[h]; the particulars of these operations is the subject of a treatise by an able hand, which we may shortly hope to see. Thus terminated Wykeham's career in 1404, at the age of 80 years, with the respect and admiration and gratitude of all; and like the spirit which he had ever sought throughout his amiable life, "length of days were in his right hand, and in his left riches and honour." His comely effigy (which may possibly have authorized Anthony Wood's assertion, for the likeness was always attempted and intended by humble sculptors of those days) reposes in an oratory erected by his order on the south side of the nave of the cathedral, on the site of an altar previously dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, his especial patroness, and which stood in that part of the cross precisely, which corresponded with the pierced side of the Saviour. His will, with reference to the cathedral and his character, and the terms and notions of the times, are too remarkable to be omitted here.

Quia Deus decorem domus suæ et locum habitationis suæ diligit, ad honorem et laudem ipsius Dei, et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et sanctæ Mariæ matris suæ, Apostolorumque ejus Petri et Pauli, et Patronorum ecclesiæ meæ predictæ, nec non Sanctorum Birini, Swythuni, Eddæ et Ethelwoldi, quorum corpora et reliquiæ in dicta continentur ecclesia; volo et ordino quod Executores mei corpus sive medium ecclesiæ supradictæ inter alas australem et borealem, ab ostio occidentali chori ejusdem ecclesiæ deorsum usque ad finem occidentalem ejusdem ecclesiæ, in muris, fenestris et valto, honeste et honorifice, conformiter et decenter secundum exigentiam formamque et modum novi operis alarum prædictarum nunc incepti,

[h] As a financier alone Wykeham's career (could it be correctly ascertained) would be in the highest degree interesting and instructive. In his own works we have an expenditure of at least £500,000 of present money; to say nothing of the cost of his endowments: in government works he could not have expended less.

The exact calculation of means to ends must have been one of the great sources of his credit with the king and the public. The completeness of all works undertaken by him is a very remarkable trait of his character; as indeed generally may be said of that of his countrymen also; especially as contrasted with our generous and tasteful neighbours on the continent; whose designs (more particularly ecclesiastical) unquestionably more magnificent than our own, yet are subject ever to the reproach, "this man began to build, but was not able to finish."

nec non et easdem alas per idem spatium in longitudine refici faciant, ac debite reparari usque ad summam Duarum Millium et Quingentarum Marcarum, si tantum expendi oporteat in opere supradicto, pro completione et consummatione ejusdem, juxta modum et formam superius limitat. Hiis tamen conditionibus servatis in præmissis, quod Prior et Conventus ecclesiæ supradictæ inveniant totum scaffaldum ad opus prædictum necessarium, seu etiam opportunum; ac quod gratis et libere permittant et sustineant calcem et zabulum de terris et quarreris eorum, ac hominum et tenentium suorum, ubi melius ac utilius, pro celeriori ac feliciori dicti operis expeditione, Executores mei viderint expedire, ad hujusmodi novum opus dictæ ecclesiæ, fodi, cariari, et abduci per operarios, a me vel Executoribus meis ad hoc deputandos, quousque opus hujusmodi sic ut præmittitur totaliter compleatur; ita etiam, quod lapides, plumbum, ferramenta, meremium, vitrum, et quæcunque alia materia veteris operis ejusdem ecclesiæ integre cedat, remaneat, et convertatur in usum, auxilium et utilitatem novi operis supradicti. Volo etiam et ordino quod dispositio et ordinatio hujusmodi novi operis fiant per Magistrum Wilhelmum Winford, et alios sufficientes, discretos, et in arte illa approbatos, ab Executoribus meis, si oportuerit, deputandos: ac quod Dominus Simon Membury nunc dicti operis Supervisor nec non et Solutor, sit etiam Solutor et Supervisor in futurum, durante opere supradicto, per supervisum, testimonium et contra-rotulationem fratris Johannis Wayte dictæ ecclesiæ meæ Commonachi, nuncque ex parte dictorum Prioris, et Conventus Contra-rotulatoris operis supradicti, dum modo sanus et incolumis fuerit, et circa hoc laborare potuerit: alioquin ipso deficiente, seu laborare non valente, per supervisum, testimonium et contra-rotulationem alterius dictæ ecclesiæ Commonachi, in hac parte discreti sufficientis et ydonei ad hoc per dictos Priorem et Conventum capitulariter eligendi, durante opere memorato. Quodque solutiones pro dictis operibus fiant de tempore ad tempus per ordinationem, dispositionem et discretionem omnium Executorum meorum, vel ad minus quinque de iisdem, de fideliter administrando coram insinuante Testamentum meum hujusmodi juratorum.

Item lego pro fenestris tam superioribus quam inferioribus partis australis ecclesiæ prædictæ per me reparatæ, bene et honeste et decenter juxta ordinationem et dispositionem Executorum meorum vitriandis, Quingentas Marcas. Et volo quod fiant hujusmodi fenestræ vitreæ incipiendo in fine occidentali ecclesiæ prædictæ in novo opere per me facto seriatim et in ordine usque ad completionem ac consummationem omnium fenestrarum dicti novi operis partis australis antedictæ. Et si quid tunc de dicta summa remanserit non expenditum, volo quod circa fenestras alæ borealis totaliter expendatur, incipiendo in fine occidentali ad primam fenestram novi operis per me facti, et sic continuando versus partem orientalem, prout de parte australi superius specialiter ordinavi.

But although we thus affix his name to a limited number only of buildings of that day, it can never be doubted that from his earliest introduction to the king, his taste and judg-

ment, so cordially confided in, must have been consulted by the sovereign in every architectural work, civil or military, of his reign,—the chapel of St. Stephen's no less than the palaces and castles so extensively undertaken during his patron's life; nor, as we may fairly presume from the affection and esteem in which he was held by his successor, Richard II., could his influence and advice be dispensed with, when Westminster Hall and its glorious roof was rebuilt in 1394. It is not too much to conclude that, as a professional architect, twice Lord High Chancellor, respected for his integrity and his taste by all the governments he lived under, himself a rich patron and adept practitioner, he advised upon if not designed every work of magnitude executed during his life.

Wykeham was always glad to acknowledge that his fortune had been built upon this art and science, as he declared at Windsor; and when his growing honours required that he should adopt a coat of arms, with a humility not less amiable than wise, in a *novus homo*, he sealed with the cheveron—the cheveron being, as the learned herald, Nicholas Upton, has it, one of those bearings which "*per carpentarios et domorum factores olim portabantur.*" At the same time he is bold to assert what might have been deemed a somewhat radical sentiment at that time, in his celebrated motto,—

Manners makyth Man[1].

How entirely he had identified himself with the arts appears in the common scandal of the day, and which Wickliffe is said to have pointed at in his sermon, "Why many Priests have no Benefices," where he observes "that Lords holden their curates in some worldly office; and suffren the wolves of hell to strangle men's souls, so that they may have their office done for nought. They wullen not present a clerk able of God's word and of good life and holy ensample, but a kitchen clerk,

[1] Lord Campbell says, "conscious how much he owed to his delicate attentions to the feelings of others, when he had from the heralds a grant of arms he took for his motto 'manners makyth man.'" His lordship thus declines the received interpretation, that

"Virtue alone is true nobility,"

and supposes "manners" to signify the calculating blandishments of a court and not "mœurs" or manners in their high moral sense. He thus degrades a Wykeham to a Chesterfield, a gentleman to a fine gentleman. His lordship further illustrates his meaning by the following: "The chancellor no doubt invited those who practised in his own court to sumptuous banquets at his palace in Southwark, made himself very agreeable in society, availed himself discreetly of the talents and experience of those around him, &c. &c."

To your tents, oh Wykehamites!!

or a penny clerk, *or one wise in building castles and other worldly doings.*"

"The castles" are already enumerated, and "the worldly doings" are well expressed in Chaundler's Life of Wickham, in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 355, "*Postquam animi maturitas adesset, probis et præclaris viris adhærens, prudentiæ sæculari se commisit; et officium Marthæ in se suscipiens, panem otiose non comedit.*"

His ecclesiastical buildings are still the most conspicuous ornaments of their several localities; the traveller, who now arrives at Oxford, visits the emphatically called *New* College with as fresh an interest and curiosity as did the nobles assembled at the great council in Oxford, in 1388; and especially John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who, six years after it was finished, paid a ceremonious visit to the warden, accompanied by four knights and a large train of attendants, and was entertained there according to the usage of that time, with "comfits, spices, and wine."

Again, at Winchester, the traveller delights in the college, as second in interest only to the cathedral itself, and in visiting its secluded and venerable precincts, he can understand the complacency with which the peaceful and pious Henry VI. (the last true disciple of Wykeham's taste and munificence) loved to honour it with his presence, especially while he was meditating his plans for Eton and King's colleges. But the architectural student derives far more pleasure and instruction than the unprofessional visitor; he finds a plan and structure organized with such admirable economy of space, convenience and material for lasting and beneficial use, that after 458 years of hard service nothing is impaired or altered, save where injudicious interpolations have been introduced from time to time. In these he now reads also the whole system of monastic order and discipline, with as much clearness as in the statutes themselves, or a chronicle of the day; and as respects beauty, character, and proportion, he is rewarded by the revelation of some of those secrets of the craft schools of the Freemasons of the 13th and 14th centuries, which Wykeham was one of the last to possess, and to maintain; and which were lost shortly after the triumph of the art had been achieved, in Henry the Sixth's chapel, at Cambridge.

Scarcely had Wykeham settled all the businesses consequent upon his instalment in the episcopal chair of Winchester, than

he founded his long-meditated institutions, in which, as Milner says, "the keys of the temple of fame have ever since been deposited."

The novelty and merit of his plan (so immediately imitated by Chichele[k] at All Souls', Oxford, Henry VI. at Cambridge, and Waynflete at Magdalene,) was this: that whereas formerly the early education of youth had been entrusted wholly to the monks, whose occupations, illiberality[l], and growing evil habits were ill suited as a preparation for the higher advantages[m] which the Universities afforded; it was his admirable thought to rear a nursery school, preparatory to and co-operating with a higher course in his college; and thus to raise the standard of education in the country, to that stamp and character, which has ever since (in his institution and the copies which were drawn from it) distinguished the English gentleman amongst the families of Europe. Designs so enlightened and patriotic, so benevolent and serious, at a period remarkable for depravity in the clergy, pride, luxury, and violence in the nobility, proclaim a mind of extraordinary purity and elevation, and fix our regard as it were upon a green spot "in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is." The priority of this conception is attributed to Walter de Merton—on what sufficient grounds or whether with equal development, remains to be proved by the learned in that interesting question.

Twenty years before his hives were built (1373), Wykeham had gathered his swarming bees under temporary roofs, with masters and statutes; which with parental solicitude he watched, altered, and amended from time to time, by his daily experience. So long before his colleges were built was his institution effective.

During this interval he was constantly occupied in obtaining convenient sites, and in all that fastidious business of titles, conveyances, disputes, costs, royal patronage at home and bulls from abroad, which are apt to try the reins of the benevolent enthusiast so severely. We will commence

[k] Chichele was a Wykehamite, and apparently also Waynflete, who certainly was master of Wykeham's school in 1429.

[l] The rich abbey of St. Edmondsbury gave a salary, equivalent to no greater sum than 24*l.* of present money, to John Somerset, the master of their school in that town, a scholar whose merit recommended him as private tutor to Henry VI. The salary to Richard Herton, the first master at Winchester, is not known. To the warden of New College, Wykeham gave a salary equivalent to 240*l.*, and shortly after increased it to nearly double that amount.

[m] "Subtilioris scientiæ," says Walsingham.

our survey of his colleges by the earliest in order, that of Winchester.

Near a clear trout stream, a branch of the Itchen, passing through the grounds of the convent of St. Swithun, and on the side of the king's high road, in the suburb, and leading to King's gate, stood an ancient and decayed grammar school, patronized by the monks; the scene of his earliest boyish associations; for he had been brought up there. By a happy augury (amply fulfilled since those days), it was reputed to have stood on the Roman ruins of the Temple of Apollo, or college of Flamens, for the education of youth. In the deed of conveyance from the prior and convent of St. Swithun's, it is called a messuage attached to Dumersmede, containing one acre and a half (see plan A. B. C. D.), and a field called Otterbourne's Mede, containing three acres south of B. C. It was in the south-west corner of Otterbourne's Mede that the indispensable part of the establishment, the infirmary, was placed, according to Loggan's view (Oxonia Illustrata). On the west, abutting on the Sustrone's spital (Sustern Spytal) gardens, and closes; on the south, abutting on the Carmelites; and on the east upon a house called Carité, and on a pathway (existing till recently) leading to the manor de la Barton; and on the north upon the king's highway. Having obtained the conveyance from the prior and convent, and the purchase having been completed, he procured two separate grants and instruments from the king (dated 1392), to enclose a waste piece, 200 *feet long and* 12 *feet wide only, lying by the road side*, (etched dark in the engraving,) and another small piece belonging to the Sustrone's spital, containing *one rod* of ground at the angle D. So precious was land at that day in the suburb of the royal city.

Scarcely had these purchases been made, when a tailor, Thomas Devereux, in pretended right of his wife, claimed the three acres, Dumersmede; and brought an action of ejectment against the bishop[n]. The case was tried in the Court of King's Bench; the tailor was cast, with costs, but these the generous and forgiving bishop defrayed at the expense of about £200; and further, when some years after, this misguided knight of the thimble had come to poverty, he ordered a pension from the college for him and his wife.

[n] These particulars, with many others, (together with every possible facility for the completion of this survey,) have been most obligingly communicated by the Warden; from MSS. in his possession.

He had now the ground in possession (about the year 1386), and prepared to exercise his professional skill upon its application and arrangement. He laid the first stone on March 26, 1387, in the chapel, leaving the offices to the last, and he entered the college on March 28, 1396.

The insecurity of feodal times made every house, no less in the city than in the open country, a castle. The primary object was security, either by a natural defence, as a river on one or more of the flanks, or a brook, as at Winchester college; or by an artificial one, as the town walls at Oxford. Regardless of the public eye or convenience, the proprietor assumed the utmost limits of his boundary line, which he followed in all its sinuosities, with a high wall, pervious only by a single gateway. The narrow streets or lanes, scarcely sufficient for the traffic of the town's people, admitted none of the requirements of modern art, the ostentatious front, or the symmetries and coquetry of architectural attraction.

All regularity, space, and ornament, were reserved for the interior quadrangles, the chapel, and the halls; in which the separation of the office courts, and the nobler residences, were all made subordinate to the panoptical principle, and the supervision of the master's eye. Aspect was the next great object —the enjoyment of the sun's rays and security from "damp winds and outrageous weatherings."

The writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries abound in instructions on monastic ichnography, the principles of which are traced with great constancy in their remains.

"The priests' camp" says Alberti, (b. v. c. vii. who wrote about 1450,) "is the cloyster, in which they assemble to devote themselves to religion and to virtue, and the study of divine and human things. Their buildings should be so secure that nobody can possibly get in; and so well watched that nobody may loyter about in order to attempt it without instant suspicion and shame. Then I would have their houses situated in the most healthy air that can be found, that the recluses, while intent on the care of their souls, may not have their bodies (already impaired by fasting and watching) oppressed likewise with weakness and diseases. Those who are without the city should be so placed in a strong position, that neither robbers, nor any plundering enemy with a small force, may be able at every turn to sack it. I would have it moreover fortified with a trench and a wall, and it would not be amiss to add a tower, which is not at all inconsistent with a religious edifice,—they should be placed neither within the hurry and noise of tradesmen, nor too far remote from the access of the citizens; so that the multitude, going for their pleasure, may more easily, by the exhorta-

tions, example, and admonition of the religious, be drawn from vice to virtue."

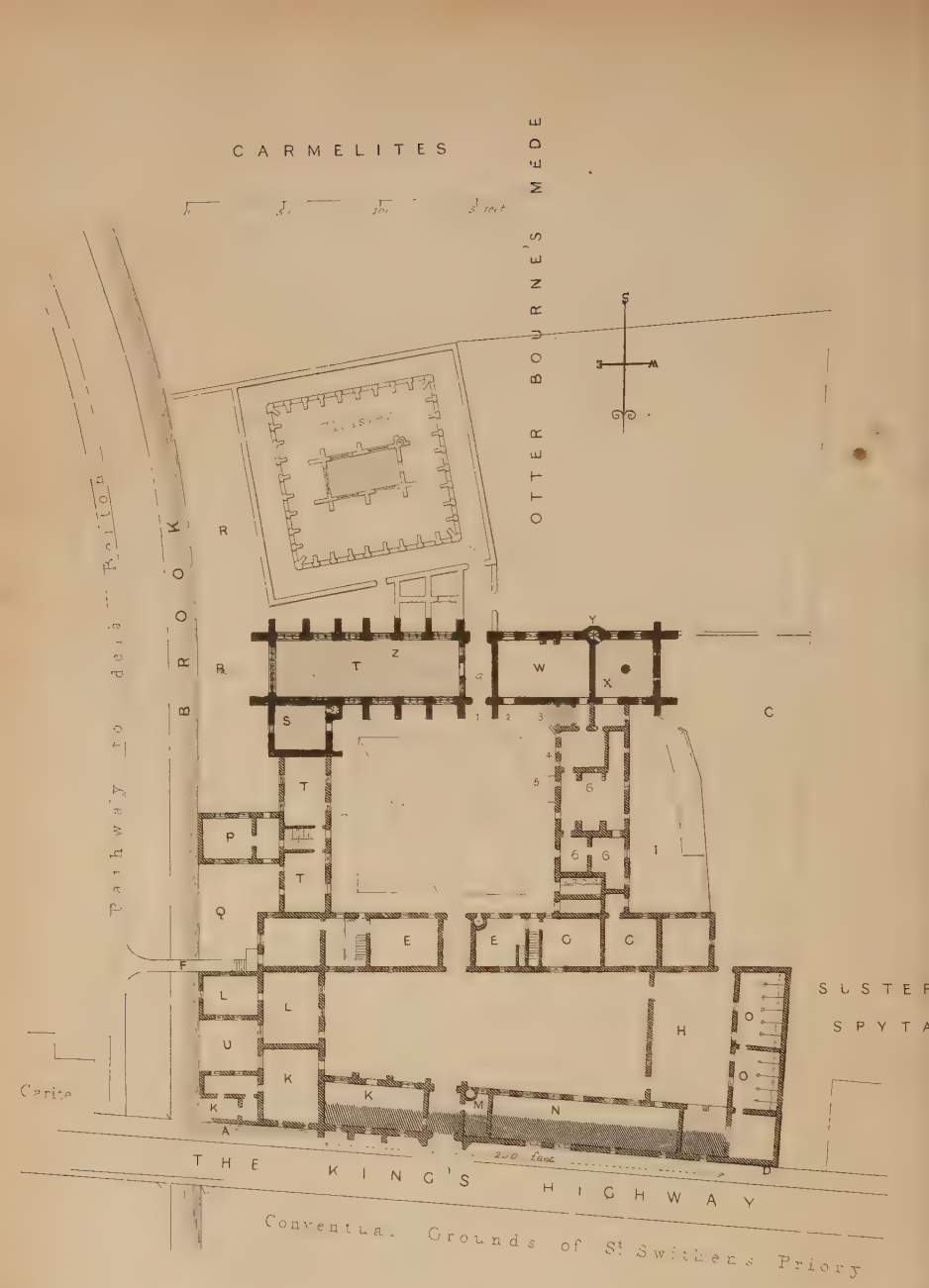
Cesariano, the commentator of Vitruvius (1500), after giving rules for the disposing the superficies of a site "symmetrically, with diligent reasoning, and all that proportion, grace, and eurythmia, which are so desirable and necessary to sacred temples and all the surrounding buildings," takes occasion to reprove many religious houses in Italy, especially "the Carthusians, in the district of Padua; who, not from avarice or inability, but purely from neglect of symmetry, have committed many grave errors in almost every member of their buildings." "It is a great pity," continues he, "that the members and the parts of such edifices should form a monstrous whole, and have no connection or due proportion, and eurythmia and quantity, so that a just and decorous character should be given to such buildings. It is certainly an easy thing to surround a city with walls, but by no means so to proportion justly and elegantly a sacred building with all its proper symmetry and members."

Outside the city walls, with the treasure chest often well filled, with precious muniments, plate, and jewels for the altar, the gift of kings, Wykeham had great reason to consider his defence against external depredations; and he had besides to restrain from within a young population often no greater friends to order.

To the east the brook obviated all other precaution[o]; to the north one only entrance, from the king's road, gave access to the premises; to the west the back of the stables, and a continuous wall to the south, and returning to the east, (which by a recently discovered document is shewn to have been built on piles,) completed the outer and impervious boundary. And should this latter, enclosing so large a space, be transgressed; the gates through the chapel and that leading from the old school under the refectory, secured the two quadrangles and their inmates effectually.

The two quadrangles and the surrounding buildings cover about 260 ft. by 300 ft. The outer quadrangle contained the offices next the road. The school, chapel, dormitories, and residences, occupied the interior quadrangle. (See plate 2.)

[o] Loggan has preserved to us the contrivance by which the defence of the brook was extended round the north-east angle next to the road at A.


CARMELITES
OTTER BOURNE'S MEDE
BROOK
Pathway to deá — Relton
THE KING'S HIGHWAY
Conventua. Grounds of St Swithens Priory
SUSTER
SPYTA
Carite

But the best of all defences, the master's eye, pervaded the whole establishment. The warden, residing originally over the second gateway, (*E E*) (for the present house is an interpolation,) could see every movement in each of the quadrangles; the ingress and egress. And from his eastern apartment, extending to the brook, he could perceive any depredation or annoyance from that side. And thence also (as we see by Loggan's view, in the Oxonia Illustrata) he could escape occasionally by a small bridge, (*F*) and take his private walk in the mede beyond, unperceived by the inmates; who might never doubt in the meanwhile the constant presence of his all-pervading eye.

Again, that due vigilance might be exercised by all concerned, the two masters and a fellow were, by the statutes, to occupy the north-west angle of the inner court, (*G G*); their common-room thus commanded the entrance to the chapel, (1) school, (2) refectory, (3) entrance to the kitchen, (4) lavatory, (5) dormitories, (7) for the scholars below and the fellows above; as also the first quadrangle, the stable yard, (*H*) divided from the brewing-house (*N*) by a wall and gates, (see plan) and the kitchen yard (*I*). Thus all the inmates of the offices were within their ken also.

The ancient monastic economy provided for all articles of use and consumption within its own walls. Thus besides the brewhouse and stables in the first quadrangle, on entering from the road to the left were the bakehouse, and malt and flour rooms above, (*K*) the weight of which was sustained by the massive piers in the side walls; the slaughter-house was next, (*L*) both having access to and discharging into the running brook by small yards and lean-to offices; for the riddance of all impurities at once. Again, eastward another small building (*P*) projected from the side to the brook, gave the warden his own yard and offices, (*Q*) and a small space for his private garden and fruit trees (*R*) before the chapel, extending to the southern boundary; the convenience and the use of these reserved spaces, separated from each other by these lean-to buildings, are obvious, and most judiciously provided. To the right was the janitor's lodge, (*M*) the brewhouse, the stables, (*O*) for the horses of the warden, appointed by the statutes.

The kitchen offices (6) have undergone much change, through the interpolations of the warden, Watson, who, in 1540, built what was called "aisiamenta," easements for the

convenience of the masters and fellows. From the figure of a bursar over one of these windows on the east side, we may presume that this officer resided in that vicinity, so as to observe more especially those proceedings which were under his charge.

But the most striking portion of these buildings, and which gives them remark in the distant view, by its bulk and graceful proportion, is that which comprises all the most dignified offices of the college in one great outline (about 200 ft. long, 36 ft. wide, and 63 ft. high); namely, the muniment tower, (*S*) and chapel (*T*) to the *east;* the school, and refectory above it, (*W*) in the middle; and at the *west* end, the cellar (*X*), the buttery, the bursary, and audit room, and library; upon several floors above; equivalent to the entire height of the chapel. The same artistic contrivance (peculiar to Wykeham's works) is exhibited at Windsor, and at New College, Oxford; with a degree of symmetry unusual in contemporary buildings of this kind; a variety of offices are thus combined into one imposing architectural whole, every subordinate part being made to serve a double purpose; with the utmost convenience, taste, and effect; and economy of space and cost.

The chapel *T*, (93 × 30, and 57 ft. high, interior dimensions,) was approached by a low vestibule (*A*) under the refectory; which served to admit the town's people occasionally to a participation in the holy services; and at the same time to a passage beyond into the cloisters and burial ground.

The tasteful observer who would appreciate the proportions of this chapel, must pause at this entrance. He will suppose the removal of the obtrusive screen and wainscoting of the Reformers[p]; and in imagination restore the high altar and canopies over the stalls, carved in stone; the exquisite remains of which may be traced under the great window. He will note its beautiful ceiling, and *curious*[q] fan-tracery in wood, the novel invention of Wykeham, afterwards executed in stone by

[p] Put up by Dr. Nicholas, in 1681.

[q] "Voltas opere *curioso* constituit." Wharton, (Anglia Sac. ii. p. 356.)—Or, as Lydgate poetically describes Hector's Oratory in the principal church at Troy, according to the beau idéal of that day:

"With crafty archys raysyd wonder clene
Embowed over all the wark to cure,
So marvellous was the celature,
That all the rofe and closure envyrowne
Was of fine goldè plated up and downe
With knottes gravè wonder *curyous*
Fret-ful of stonys rich and precious, &c."

Close, the architect of Henry VI., in King's College chapel, at Cambridge. He will admire the glorious painted window, representing "the root of Jessy," (40 ft. high, by 24 wide,) which terminates the perspective. Nor while he considers the decorations of this beautiful chapel will he doubt, that the blank surface at the west end, above the vestibule, and separating the refectory from the chapel, had also its painted enrichment, according to the fashion of that day[r], so greatly promoted by the magnificent Edward; namely, a judgment, or other sacred and appropriate subject.

The passage to the sacristry and muniments was through the chapel; the ruffian therefore who would attempt those treasures, would also violate the altar and its sacred precincts, which ought to suffice for their protection.

The vaulted sacristry richly furnished, "vestimentis de pannis auri aliisque jocalibus[s]," is on the ground floor; the muniment room is on the first floor, also fire proof, with all its furniture, and nearly in the state in which the founder left it.

Here are the travelling cases for the mitre[t] left by his will[u], the lockers for the copes are wormeaten, but still preserved. The rude and curious drawers in which the bulls and title deeds were deposited, in statu quo, transporting us absolutely into the 14th century. The ceiling of this room is admirably groined in stone, the springers present an archbishop in benediction, a bishop and a king; and over the door a guardian angel. Bosses of oak-leaves and roses alternately, carved with great taste and "*subtilitè*," enrich and cover the junction of the ribs.

Returning again to the quadrangle, we visit the original school-room (*W*) under the refectory, now used as a dormitory. Opposite to the entrance was another door to the

[r] The churches and chapels were not only furnished with portraits of the Virgin, the Apostles, and other saints, but the walls of some of them were almost covered with scriptural, moral, and other allegorical paintings. Henry's History of England, vol. viii. p. 299.

[s] A tabernacle of gold, with a chalice and phials of the same metal, as also considerable sums of money for its further decoration, contributed by Henry VI., all which are said to have surpassed in magnificence those even of the cathedral itself.

[t] It is related in Chandler's Life of Waynflete, p. 227, that "the mitre, crozier, and pontifical habits of the founder were reposited as memorials of him in the treasury of Magdalene College."

[u] Item lego collegio meo Winton. aliam mitram meam planam aurifregiatam, ac Bibliam meam usualem, item librum vocatum "Catholicon." Item librum vocatum "Rationale Divinorum." Item librum vocatum "Florarium Bartholomæi." Item librum de vita sancti Thomæ, vocatum Thomas. Item librum vocatum Pars oculi.

playground, securing the ventilation of a room containing 72 scholars.

The stairs from the quadrangle and the kitchen offices, to the refectory above, are partly external; this room is of noble proportion, 63 × 30, formerly purified and ventilated by a charcoal fire, and a lantern above.

A capacious winding staircase (*Y*) leads from thence to a noble cellar, in the basement (groined from a single central pillar,) the glory still of collegiate hospitality: also to the audit room, (the very picture of the olden time,) paved with Flemish tiles; the bill for which is still in the muniment room[v]; and hung with Arras tapestry; if not of that day, scarcely less ancient.

In an ancient locker, and suspended above the door, are some coats of mail, which tell of those times in which recruits were to be furnished by the college,—its walls and towers were to be defended, or a man or two at arms were to be sent to the sea coast (as happened in 1486,) to learn if certain sails descried in those waters were friends or foes.

Over the capacious chimney is the *functior* for lights during the night.

In the corner was the treasure chest, "the founder's[w] hutch," with its lock and hasp, and a broad oaken table on which the rents were counted; a few matted benches, completed the furniture of this interesting audit room.

The library in the roof above is illustrative of an age of small Latin, and less Greek. The floor is in plaster: three small windows illuminate very inadequately this low room. It is difficult to suppose the books catalogued expressly in the will of Wykeham were deposited here, they were more probably under the warden's special care. It may rather be supposed that the accounts, school books, and stationery, the psaltries, &c., were kept in this apartment.

The door and bolt are of the date of the building, and are precious specimens of the state of those arts in the fourteenth century: the dormitories with their holy mementos are per-

[v] The bill for these is still preserved in the muniment room. Two kinds of tiles were in use in that day; one from Kent for plain purposes, probably larger, and one from Flanders for the more ornamental purposes,—they are both stated in the Westminster account as 6s. 8d. per thousand.

The use of wainscot, an immemorial importation from the low countries, is also mentioned in the Westminster accounts.

[w] Anthony Wood, Hist. of the Colleges, p. 253, relates that Archbishop Chichele gave a sum of money to the University of Oxford "reposited in a chest, called Chichele's *hutch*."

haps more characteristic of the monastic habits on which the school was founded than any other apartment.

In order duly to estimate the work of the illustrious founder, we must now point out those interpolations which have sometimes so seriously impaired the wisdom of his contrivances.

The first in order appears to have been the cloister for lectures, for the retired walk of the studious in wet weather, and for processions, and ceremonies, and memorials of the dead: this essential feature of the establishment may possibly have been designed originally by the founder, but was built at the expense of John Fromond, steward to Wykeham, together with the elegant oratory in the centre for the performance of daily masses, in this place of mourning. It was finished about 1430, twenty-six years after his decease. Fromond's attachment to the founder led him to make great benefactions to both his colleges, and as a person of wealth and consideration he had the means to indulge this amiable disposition. There can be little doubt that he employed "Dom^s. Simon de Membury," the able clerk of works in the college buildings, who figures in this character in the great east window: for the design is wholly of the school of Wykeham, and distinguished by the same exquisite geometrical principles.

Above the oratory is a small apartment ceiled with oak, and with elegant angel corbels, which may possibly have been the dormitory and cell of Master William Clyffe, first chaplain to this chapel[x].

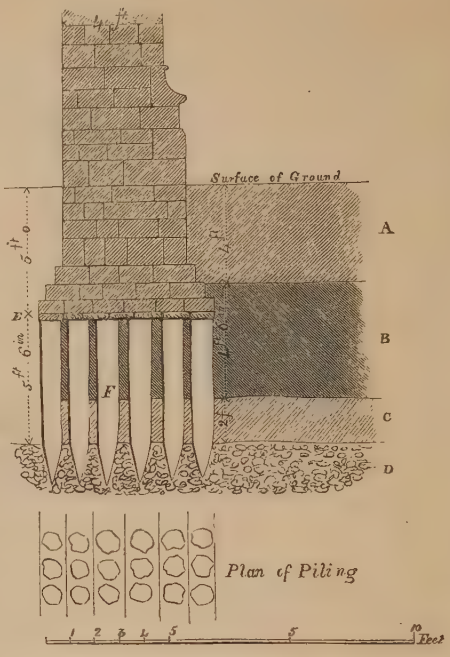
The cloisters resemble those of Oxford, and are roofed with segmental rafters, in the pointed style.

A less pleasing subject of remark is the interpolation or addition to Wykeham's work in the chapel and tower at the south-west angle of the great chapel, built by the bequests of the warden Thorburn, for the performance of masses for himself and family about the year 1482; aided by the contributions of the wardens, Chaundler, and Bekynton, and Bishop Waynefleet, as explained by their devices in the vaulted ceiling.

In combination with this chapel it was unhappily deter-

[x] One of the brasses still preserved in the cloisters, records the death of this person.

Orate pro aīa D^ni Will. Clysse primi capellani
istius capellæ. qui obiit XXIII mensis maii.
an. D^ni M.CCCCXXXIII cujus aiæ propitietur Deus.



mined to build the tower, wholly, as it appears, at the expense of Bishop Waynefleet; for, however graceful in its external grouping with the surrounding buildings, it has, through ignorance of the plainest principles of statics and stereotomy, entailed its own ruin, together with that of the older walls to which it was attached. A bell-tower apparently of wood had already been built by Wykeham, but (as he did also at Oxford,) he had separated this vibrating member of the collegiate establishment from the walls of his chapel, that they might not be impaired by the action of the bells, a wise and not unfrequent practice: eighty-six years of wear of this temporary structure, had probably made a new and more solid one necessary.

Wykeham, an able engineer as well as architect, was consummate in these considerations[y] of his art, and it is interesting to observe the careful regard to stability which guided him in every feature of this building, the more as it was planted in a marsh: not only were the walls laid on piles, but he spread his footings upon the soil precisely in the proportion to their respective weight and elevation; like the web-footed inhabitants of such localities, he took care to present the broadest surface to the sinking soil wherever the weights were heaviest. For this reason the piers or buttresses of the great chapel have an unusual extension, and are not loaded with pinnacles as at Oxford; and wherever the towers occur, as in the entrance gate and within the second

[y] Mr. Herbert, who constructed the recent buildings westward, was consulted by the Warden upon the state of the foundations, and favours us with the accompanying section, describing the soil and piling at this angle of Wykeham's building: in which A is made ground, B is peat bog, C is chalk, D hard gravel, E oak planking, F oak piles.

gate, these spurs extend proportionally, and by systematic rule.

How rash and inconsiderate then was the architect of this tower and chantry. First he reduces the pier (*Z*) to a mere column, in order to display the double bay of his new chapel; and then he imposes the whole weight of the north and east sides of his tower (100 ft. high) upon this column so reduced; while the vaulted ceiling presents its lateral thrust *against the side* of this column.

The consequences were soon apparent on all the contiguous buildings, and in the crazy and shattered state of the tower itself.

Finally, in 1772, Mr. Essex, of Cambridge, (a professor especially accomplished in this kind of architecture,) built a solid stone wall from the old foundations, (at the expense indeed of Thorburn's chapel, which was thus divided into two,) but at all events effectually sustaining the falling tower for a season: he also braced it throughout with iron ties, removing all immediate hazard, and danger of precipitate ruin.

In these unskilful additions to the design of Wykeham, we trace the baneful influence of the wars of the roses, which not only checked the further development of the first of the fine arts, but led to the rapid oblivion of those principles which, under the patronage of Henry III., Edward I. and III., and the precepts of Wykeham, Alan de Walsyngham, and others, had been so nobly exercised in the English school, in the previous century.

The progress of this decay may be traced in Waynflete's work at Oxford (as we shall have occasion to shew) no less than at Winchester, both in their affected refinement and character, and in the mal-adjustment of weight and proportions.

Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre in Oxenford, (which was the fulfilment of Wykeham's educational design,) was however the first building to receive completion at his hands; already in the first year after his elevation to the see, (1368,) he appointed commissioners to purchase a site; and had obtained seven plots, when his disgrace, brought about by the party of the duke of Lancaster, interrupted his operations till 1377; when his restoration to favour enabled him to renew them, and he added three more plots. Certain prelimi-

naries were however essential to the commencement of his work; first, the royal permission; secondly, the enclosure of the slipe, or lane, between his plots and the town wall; reserved at all times by the town's men, to give access to the city walls; but which slipe was essential to the completeness of his site.

These transactions are highly illustrative of the times and the difficulties which Wykeham had to contend with, and cannot be better described than in the words of the accurate Anthony Wood, in his History of the Colleges, p. 178 to 183.

"All these plots or tenements being obtained," says he, "and the Founder about to procure more, that he might proceed in the foundation of his College, the King's breve or writ was issued out, directed to John Salvein, his Escheator for the County of Oxford, to make inquisition, whether it would be to the damage of the king and the town of Oxford, as to the fee farm thereof, or to any else, if Will. de Wykeham, Lord Bishop of Winchester, should include the aforesaid lands, and others which he was about to procure for a peculiar use; which writ being received, the said John Salvein came to Oxford, and by virtue thereof summoned before him, in the presence of John Gibbes, Mayor, John Hicks, and Richard de Adyngton, bailiffs of Oxford, twelve honest and lawful men of the said place, to make enquiry according to the writ, on the Monday before the nativity of S. John Baptist, 2 Rich. II., Dom. 1379.

"They therefore then appearing did, after consultation had among them, pronounce in the presence of all then present, that it was not to the damage or prejudice of the King, or others, or diminution of the farm of the town of Oxford, or to the nuisance of the said town, if those plots of ground obtained of Osney Abbey, Queen's College, nunnery of Godstow, parishioners of S. Peter's in the East, (and of others which the said Bishop was about to procure,) were included for his design and purpose, notwithstanding the king had pardoned Mr. John de Bokyngham, and John de Rouceby, clerks," (and commissioners of the bishop,) "for procuring the said plots."

"They said also that it would not be to the damage of the king, if the said Bishop of Winchester should include other lands, which he was about to acquire. Among which were several plots of ground belonging to the town of Oxon, and *a common lane*, (the slipe,) *in which also they had interest;* so that the Warden and Scholars of his College, forthwith to be obtained, bind themselves and successors to keep in reparation so much of the north and east wall of the said Town, that should include the said College, (namely, from a spot opposite Scheldhalle to the ancient postern near the east gate of the city); and that also they make a gate or postern on each side of the said wall at the extent of the college limits, to the end

that the Mayor and Bailiffs of Oxford may, once in every three years, enter and pass through them, to see whether the said wall be kept in a competent manner of reparation, and that also the commonalty of the said Town might have free passage in times of war, through the said posterns, for the defence of the same."

"The said jury also delivered, that the said common way or lane, and plots of ground before mentioned, and others which the Bishop of Winchester was about to procure, were not built on or included for a private use, but were full of filth, dirt, and stinking carcases brought from several places in the town, which were to the great annoyance of the Town and University of Scholars and to the detriment of all men that passed that way; and that also there was a concourse of malefactors, murderers, whores, and thieves, to the great damage of the Town, and danger of Scholars and other men passing that way; and that Scholars and others, were there often wounded, killed, and lost; and that all the said plots of ground lay waste, and had been for a long time deserted from the inhabiting of any person, and that it was a place as it were desolate, and not included, or by any occupied.

"They said also, that to erect buildings on the said ground, and include the said land, would prove profitable to future times, a relief and a recovery of the whole Town, and would redound much to the honour and security of the Scholars in the University that should in times to come inhabit therein, and also to the profit and relief of the Town, and all men dwelling therein.

"They delivered also, that the said messuages and plots of ground were worth in all profits, according to the true value, ten shillings yearly, and no more, because that nobody ever cared to enter upon, or have any thing to do with them, &c.

"So far the jury, though as to this last thing that they decreed, it appears to the contrary, when as the burghers of Oxford made the bishop pay for their eight plots of ground, and their share in the common lane (or slipe,) before mentioned, (all which were desolate, and were afterwards included within the limits of the College,) eighty pounds, as it evidently appears elsewhere: *a hard purchase* methinks *for ground worth but* 10*s. per annum.*"

He then goes on to describe other portions of land in the north-east corner of the city walls by Crowell, which are apparently those now occupied by New College gardens, and acquisition of the

"Nunnery of Stodley, of University College, a messuage called Sheldhall, from another called Mayden Hall, and a third of Osney, styled Great or More Hamer Hall, on which he built part of the west, and most part of the south cloister; as also he made that way leading from the east part of Hart Hall, to this college gate. As for the north cloister, it was built on the common way which led from Smyth-gate, to the north east corner of the town

wall; which cloisters being finished, were, with the area within, appointed by the founder to be a burial place or churchyard for the college, according to the authority he had for that purpose from Pope Boniface IX., as also three bells, consecrated by Nicholas, Bishop of Dunckeld in Scotland, 19 Oct. 1400."

"The said lands being obtained, besides other parcels and tenements, for all which he had the king's license, he issued forth his charter for the foundation of his college, dated, 26 Nov. 1379. Wherein after he gives divers reasons why he founds it, the chiefest was, because of the *scantity* of *scholars* in the nation, having been swept away by great pestilences[z] and wars."

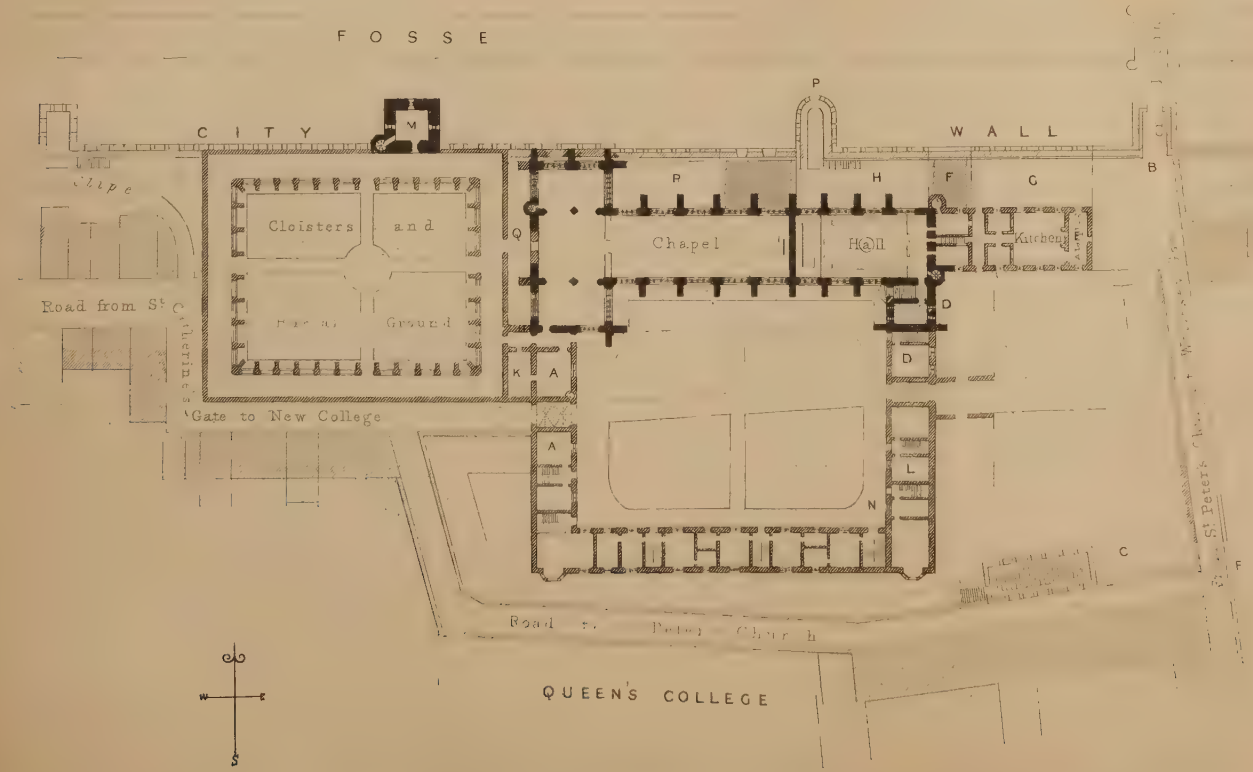
Of the extensive site thus obtained by the bishop, that reserved purely for the building contains about 520 feet from the western wall of the cloister to the postern, now called Wolvesey Gate, east, and about 240 feet from the south claustrum to the city wall on the northern boundary, which might be deemed as impervious and almost as enduring as the brook at Winchester. (See plate 3.)

The first object of the founder, therefore, security from without, was thus fairly attained. The second with the ancients ever, and of no less importance at all times, was the aspect; whenever it was possible (at Winchester the ground was unfavourable to it) the high building, the church, was placed to the north of the quadrangle, affording protection against the cold north winds, and forming a warm reflector of the sun's rays for the comfort of the inmates: so much was this considered in this college, that the surrounding roofs were kept low, and dormer windows were suffered to be placed, externally only, towards the south; to interrupt as little as might be the admission of the sun's rays into the quadrangle. This consideration was probably one of those which occasioned a marked change in the structure of the roofs of this age, and conspicuous in all Wykeham's works; namely, the lowering of the pitch of the roof, and employing lead, instead of those high pitched roofs of the previous age, covered with shingle; the object of which was, in many cases, only to augment the magnificence and volume of the fabrick; at the expense however of ventilation, and above all the admission of Sol's rays; ill dispensed with at all times, and especially in this climate, where the Italian proverb so well applies; "dove non

[z] From 1349 to 1382, there had been five plagues, which had carried away two thirds of the population. See Lowth's Life of Wykeham, p. 85.

Plate

PLAN OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD.



entra il sole, entra il medico;" and where as Juvenal says, with still more cordiality,

"Nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem."

Over the principal gateway, west, (*A*) the warden resided. The master's eye thus commanded the approach to the first quadrangle, and its gate to the second quadrangle or office court; the approach to the chapel, the hall, and the cloisters; and by a bay-window at the end of his apartments to the south, he commanded the south flank also[a].

The students' rooms are disposed with great convenience and economy, and were distinguished originally by proper names[b]; thirteen of these ranged round the quadrangle; and there were eight above them in the roof, termed cocklofts, which were raised, and conformed to those below in 1674 (as we learn from Loggan), "for the convenience and ornament of the college." The former were adapted to the occupation of three and sometimes four beds; the truckle beds passing under the higher[c], and every inmate having a separate one. A senior fellow superintending each room to keep order. A small study was attached to every apartment, and windows on either side gave abundant light and ventilation to the larger or sleeping room. The chaplain, clerks, and other officers slept under the hall, where on this account especially, amongst others, all disorders were forbidden by the statutes.

"Neither were the students to jump down violently from the hall tables, so as possibly to shake down the images of the

[a] The buildings attached to the warden's house, west, are of a comparatively modern date, (probably of James I.;) the buildings also in the eastern quadrangle, or office court, are still more recent: neither therefore are noticed in this plan.

[b]

The Chamber of Three contained	3	students and a chamber over it	3
The Vine	4	.....	3
The Baptist's Head	4	... .	3
The Conduit	4		
The Crane's Dart	4	.....	3
The Vale	4		
The Cock	4		
The Star	3		
The Christopher	4	.....	3
The Serpent's Head	4	.....	3
The Greene Post	4	.....	3
The Chaplains	3		
The Rose	4	.....	3

[c] In the arrangement for the lodging of the society, (in Magdalene College, built 1474,) it was ordered, that each of the rooms on the ground floor of the quadrangle should hold two principal beds, and one truckle bed; the chambers over them, except that of the president and a few more, had each two truckle beds. Life of William of Wayn-flete, by R. Chandler, p. 204.

Holy Trinity, the holy cross, with the image of the crucified Saviour, the blessed Virgin Mary, and many other saints and sculptures in the chapel, upon the transverse wall dividing it from the hall; nor to throw stones, balls, or use other unseemly sport which might cause damage to the glass windows, paintings, and other sumptuous works placed there, to the praise and honour of God[d]." And all repairs for such disorders were to be stopped out of the allowances to the fellows. Thus minute and anxious are the regulations of the founder for the preservation of his favourite work.

The Bursars' offices (*D D*) are expressly ordered to be under the library, and on the north side of the east gateway of the quadrangle; "to be accounted the audit room," and applied to no other purpose; and their position, commanding the quadrangles and gateways, and stairs to the refectory, was well suited to the responsibility of their duties. Weekly and other small accounts were to be kept in the small room opposite the door of the hall.

Over the scullery, at the back of the kitchen fire-place, (*E*) is the window of a small apartment, from which the kitchen clerk, who probably resided there, might watch the postern or the Wolvesey gateway at night. This, like the western principal gateway, "was to have a small or wicket gate besides the great one."

The lodge of the manciple or cellarer (*F*) is also admirably placed so as to command the kitchen yard, (*G*) and communicate with the buttery, cellars, and a small yard for his own use, enclosed by the city wall (*H*).

The lodge for the sacrist, (*I*) with a strong room for the holy vessels, communicated with the chapel; it had two windows in the city wall, the purpose of which is not apparent; also a small yard, enclosed by the city wall, for his own use, and it led by a staircase beyond to the walls and bell-tower. At the back of the high altar, and under the refectory, was a passage to the quadrangle.

The janitor (*K*) has also a small yard, (*Q*) between the chapel and cloisters, as the guardian of that department. The transept of the chapel admits these conveniences most ichnographically, and seems purposely contrived to afford the means of

[d] These and other particulars I owe to the obliging assistance of the Warden of New College, to Mr. Sewell, and other members, who have aided this survey in every possible manner.

guarding each department in the most effectual manner, on the same principle which we have already noticed at some length.

The library, (*D L*) indicated by a dip in the string-course, to suit the lower level of its floor, is a much more important room (as might be expected from the more advanced grade of its learning) than that of Winchester; it occupies the greater portion of the east side of the quadrangle.

The bell-tower (*M*) is wisely separated from the chapel, lest the vibration of the bells should affect its solidity; and for the defence of the city walls it forms a most formidable barrier in its several stories.

Here, as at Winchester, the most dignified features of the college, the chapel, hall, and muniment tower, are cast into one uniform and imposing mass, giving to the stranger, approaching Oxford from the north, an impression of the architectural magnitude and order almost of a cathedral; and, towards the south also, the symmetry produced by the transept on the west, and the muniment tower on the east, is equally novel (for that period) and striking.

The plan of the chapel, divided longitudinally into seven bays and transversely by four, is as remarkable as it is beautiful, and is said to have been suggested by the choir and transept of the unfinished church of the chancellor Merton; the western nave of which has never been completed. The great convenience of the transept, as an ante-chapel for the townspeople, may it is true justify the supposition, but while this assumed original is an abortion, the copy is an organic whole, of such admired order and beauty that it quickly became a model and a *provincialism*[e] in architecture; having been copied in Magdalene and All Souls shortly after, and much later in Wadham. By this extension of the western front the architect augmented his architectural effect towards the town, and gave to his chapel the appearance of an aisled church.

Judging from the copy of Wykeham's chapel still existing in All Souls, it may be presumed that the ceiling and roof were constructed on the hammer-beam system, and not after that more beautiful and expensive manner adopted at Winchester, the reasons for which inferiority it would be difficult to discover; and this opinion is confirmed by the

[e] According to the happy phrase of an accomplished Wykehamite, Mr. Ford, in his Handbook on Spain.

recollection of the venerable survivors of the period of its last repairs.

This feature of the design, as well as the great west window, have been impaired and adulterated, by the arbitrary interpolations of an architect and a painter, (Mr. J. Wyatt and Sir J. Reynolds); of no mean renown and merit indeed, but whose entire departure in this work from the technical and æsthetical principles of the style (the particulars of which it is not necessary here to enlarge upon) impresses upon us the important lesson, that no architect without archæological knowledge should be entrusted with the restoration of important historical monuments like these, at so great peril to the character and national interest of the art. Happily in the present day men "do not put new wine into old bottles[f]." The ceiling is contrary to the geometrical and structural principles of the style, and without model or authority. The great west window, converted into a transparency, suited to a nocturnal illumination at some public rejoicing, is no longer an integral portion of the architecture, nor a medium of light to the chapel, thus sacrificing the two important conditions of this great feature of the architecture of the fourteenth century.

The cloisters are more extensive than those at Winchester. It may be doubted whether they were originally (as now) connected with the chapel. The direct entrance from the quadrangle, still existing, was probably the only one; for all the business of this portion of the establishment, the lectures, studious walks, burials, and defence of the walls.

"To the end," says Anthony Wood, "that all necessary places might be procured and built for their use, he obtained of the nunnery of Stodley, a messuage called Sheldhall (12 Rich. II.), of University College another called Magden Hall, and a third of Osney, stiled Great or More Hamer Hall, the same year he pulled them down, and in their places built part of the west, and part of the south Cloister, as also made that way leading from the east part of Hart hall to this College gate. As for the north cloister, it was built on the common way which led from Smyth gate, to the north-east corner of the Town wall, included before by the Trinitarians. All which being finished, were, with the area within, (appointed by the founder to be a burial place, or churchyard for the College, according to the authority he

[f] The evil consequences of the alternative of this practice not being expressly pronounced, we scruple not to put *old wine into new bottles;* and to introduce the Norman and the pointed church into the most sumptuous as well as into the meanest quarters of our growing metropolis, in strange dissociation. Her Majesty's commissioners of new churches have especially indulged in this enthusiasm.

had for that purpose from Pope Boniface IX.,) as also three bells, consecrated by Nicholas, Bishop of Dunckeld in Scotland, Oct. 19. 1400." By Anthony Wood, History of the Colleges, p. 182.

The second court for offices, was bounded by the city wall also, in which the postern, (*B*) (called Wolvesey Gate, from the bishop's palace at Winchester) gave access to the offices; as also to the city, by a road in continuation of St. Peter's Lane. The gate (*F*) at the southern end "was always to be closed, except when the city authorities, the mayor and bailiffs, were admitted every three years, to see that the walls were kept in a competent manner of reparation, or when in time of war the commonalty had occasion to enter to defend the town; or when building materials and other heavy goods are required for the college." To the east was a wall separating the gardens towards Crowell, attached to the college.

The south was bounded by the necessarium, and a small garden, and precinct, (*C*) an unique specimen of this kind of building, well calculated to convey to the curious an idea of the extraordinary refinement of the monastic orders in this particular; which yields to none of the modern inventions in decorum and cleanliness. This building is isolated, having a water-course below, conducting to the river. The floor is wisely raised 10 feet above the ground, on walls hermetically sealed to that height, so that all offence to the olfactory nerves which might arise is carried into the air, above the surrounding buildings and areas; it is ascended by a broad flight of external steps, covered by a roof, connected with the passage from the quadrangle. It forms a hall or gallery, lighted and ventilated from the sides, and by two hoppers in the roof. Eighteen subdivisions, having doors and enclosures; and thirty-six sedilia, each appropriated to *two* of the seventy-two inmates of the college, are provided. At Canterbury, and in many other monastic remains, this very remarkable arrangement may still be traced[g].

[g] We learn from Ducange, Lanfranc in Decr. pro ord. S. Bened. cap. iv., "Unus eorum in dormitorio debet circumire lectos omnium, et omnia sedilia in necessariis sollicite considerans, ne forte aliquis frater dormiens ibi remanserit." Again, in Chron. Laurishamense, an. 948, there is mention of a benefactor, who "Dormitorium renovavit, ædificum necessariorum prominens amplavit." The monastic term for the Jakes was, "Gong." Piers Plowman satirizing the excesses of the priesthood, says,

"Thei side of many maner metes
With song and solace sitting long;
And filleth their wombe and fast fretes,
And from the mete unto the gong."

Henry's Hist. of Britain, vol. viii. p. 368.

However interesting the investigations of the colleges of Winchester and Oxenford, as respects the light they throw upon the principles of mediæval *Building*, it is in the chapels that we are to look for the art in its more dignified appellation, as *Architecture;* according to all those scientific rules of order, distribution, and harmonious proportion, so eminently possessed by the schools of the Freemasons, and especially by Sir William of Wykeham. "Which rules," says Vitruvius, (l. iii. c. 1,) "the ancients have directed to be observed in all works, but more particularly should they be attended to in the temples of the gods, *in which the faults as well as the beauties remain to the end of time.*"

The recovery of these rules of the ancients, as applied to *classical* architecture, has been the aim and occupation of nearly 400 years of critical enquiry among us, from the revival to the present day; and still new proofs of the extraordinary refinements of the Greeks are unfolded to us by the diligence of modern investigation. That rules of great if not equal cogency guided the *mediæval* architect, has long been a conviction. The art had become at once the passion and the illustration of growing civilization from the twelfth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The most enlightened spirits had employed their best faculties in developing its capacity and refinements, and the determination of certain fixed principles by the concurrent testimony of the ablest masters, was no less the natural result in that period than it had already been in the time of the Greeks—but unhappily no mediæval Vitruvius had collected and transmitted them with the same fulness and fidelity.

We have sought them for half a century with more or less effect. At all events the elements and the glossary are the handbook of every student; and a general resemblance in details has already been attained in the imitations of the style, as we see daily. But when from parts and prettinesses the practitioner proceeds to the "proportions of the first dimension," and their application to all the varying conditions of site and circum-

Sir William Walworth, the valiant mayor of London, who had so summarily despatched Wat Tyler in Smithfield, and dispersed the insurgents in 1381, illustrated his reign by the erection of a necessarium at Cold Harbour, which still exists, and has been the subject of litigation within these four years in the city of London. The renowned Whittington also by his will ordered the erection of a necessarium on the banks of the Thames, with separation for the sexes, and a provision of *hay* for their use.

stance, he is at a loss; he feels the want of those great and fundamental principles which guided the mediæval architect with so much constancy and effect; and he confesses that without them all must be caprice and accident.

The deduction of these rules, by observation of existing monuments, is arduous and uncertain, and we are liable to be misled at every step by the changes which they may have undergone. It is amongst the earliest commentators on Vitruvius, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that we are to look for the traces of these rules in a dogmatic form. Habituated to the formulæ of mediæval practice, reference to them in their investigations of the classical style is inevitable; and although these rules were about to be exploded in favour of the revived taste for the classical style, their partial discovery in the terms and expressions used by those commentators, might well be expected—and may be accordingly traced to Daniel Barbaro, the last of the sixteenth century. Amongst these Cesare Cesariano, the sixth of the early Italian commentators, who published his work in 1521, is most conspicuous, as respects mediæval architecture. He may be said to have done for us to a great extent in that style, what Vitruvius did for us in the Greek; namely, in discovering to us many of its fundamental doctrines and principles. More especially does he reveal to us the estimation in which Vitruvius was held during the middle ages, and the interpretations of his rules entertained and attempted by the architects and commentators of that period; a fact never yet sufficiently adverted to, and which deserves a special investigation, as explaining a vast number of formulæ not to be otherwise accounted for[h].

[h] The evidences of the estimation in which Vitruvius was held in the middle ages abound. The citation of his name in the earliest and most authentic documents of the Freemasons is seldom wanting. The church in the castle of Nurembourg, built by Barbarossa, in 1158, and the Fraumkirk, in the centre of that great city, probably of later date, are exact illustrations of the "temple in Antis," of Vitruvius, as given by Cæsariano, lib. iii. fol. 52.

In his preface, Galliani, amongst other evidences of the regard for the works of Vitruvius under the most accomplished princes, relates that when Alphonso (the Philosopher as he was called) king of Aragon and the two Sicilies, wished to rebuild the Castle Nuovo, at Naples, about 1284, he referred to no other author than Vitruvius; and when his architect, Panormita, presented to his Majesty his own copy, unbound and in bad condition, he was reproved; "It is not becoming (said the king) that an author who has taught us so well how to protect ourselves from the inclemency of the seasons, should himself be without a covering and in disorder." In fact it appears that in the middle ages, scarcely less than now, it was the intention and aim of the architects, on all occasions, to establish their rules upon Vitruvian authority; and the illustrations given in the plates of Cæsarianus may be adduced as sufficient evidences of this traditional respect for the father of architectural legislation.

However partial, and confused with discrepancies, (which have misled those who have attempted to elucidate the text[i] of Cesariano,) his rules correspond, on the whole, when tested, with many existing monuments; and they constitute, an invaluable source of information; and a sufficient authority for the three fundamental and normal rules of the Freemasons, applying to the structure of the plan and elevation; which would otherwise have been lost to us; or left to the uncertainty of conjecture only.

They occur in his Commentary (folios xiv. and xv.) on the Ichnography, Orthography, and Scenography of Vitruvius (lib. i. c. 11.), which he illustrates by the plan, section, and elevation of Milan cathedral, designed and commenced in 1386, under Galeazzo Visconti, by the architect Omodei; and entitles, "ichnographia"—"orthographia"—"scenographia," "sacræ Ædis Baricephalæ, a *Trigono* ac *Pariquadrato* perstructa Germanico more," and "secundum Germanicam symmetriam;" and again, "per symmetriæ quantitatem, ordinariam ac per operis decorationem, Germanico more," &c. &c.

In the present case these normal rules are essential to us, as authority for the description of Wykeham's chapels; and they are in the highest degree interesting, as proving the correspondence of system in these illustrious contemporary architects, Omodei and Wykeham; and in the proof thus afforded of the European universality of these rules. Their adoption in the structure of the most magnificent undertaking of the best period of mediæval architecture, namely Milan cathedral, is strong confirmation of the merit of the English school, (in which they may be traced more than two centuries previously, as at Romsey,) and also of the orthodoxy of Wykeham's doctrines in architecture.

The purpose of the first Rule (a Trigono) is ichnographic, and establishes the respective proportions of the length and breadth of the cross, which are included within two arcs of 102°. constructed according to the first proposition of Euclid.

This figure enables the architect to set out a right angle upon the ground, as also an equilateral triangle; and it is equally dear to the religionist as involving the ἰχθύς or "Vesica Piscis," the ancient anagram symbolical of the Saviour, as also the Cross, and the Trinity[k].

[i] Sidney Hawkins's History of the Origin, &c. of Gothic Architecture, 1833.

[k] The breviary of St. Ethelwolfe of the tenth century, (Archæologia, vol. xxiv.,)

Fig. 1.

TRINITAS
VNVS ET VERVS
DS PATER FILIVS SC
S^TI ETHELWOLDI
BENEDICTIONAL

Fig. 2

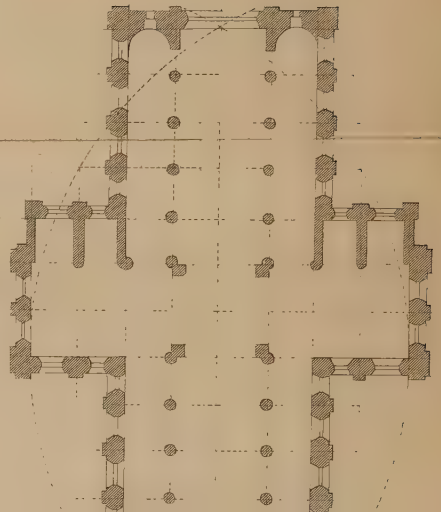
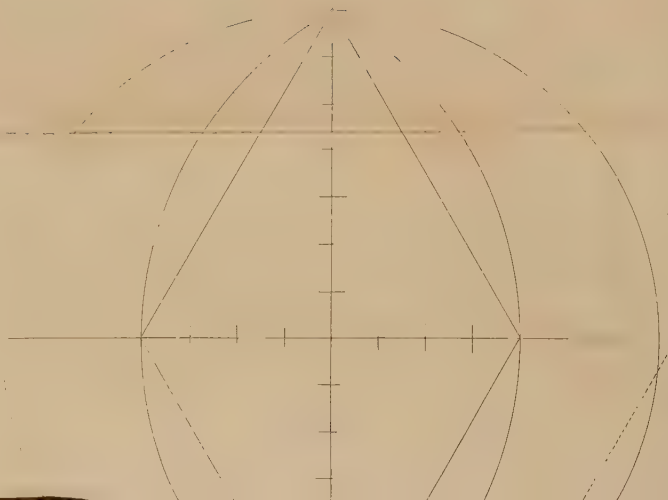
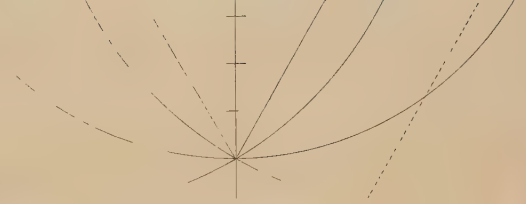


Fig. 1





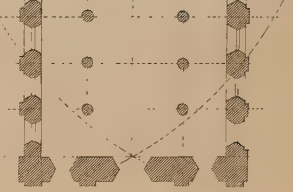


Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5.

C. R. Cockerell, Esq. R.A. del

W. F. Starling sculp.

The writers of the 16th century, Cesariano, (1521,) his follower Caporali, (1536,) and Philibert de l'Orme (1576,) seem to overlook the importance of this last symbol in their descriptions of the figure as handed down from earlier times to them; though the latter, Phil. de l'Orme, l. ii. c. 1, expatiates on the cross involved in it, and the "prerogative" which it implies. And they recommend the Vesica Piscis, chiefly as that geometrical rule by which "two lines may be drawn on the ground at right angles with each other in any scale, according to the conception of Euclid's mind," says Cesariano, (folio xlviii, and lix.) And this value amongst artificers has been acknowledged doubtless from the building of Babylon to the present day.

The late Mr. Kerrich was so struck with the conformity of many churches to the proportions given by this figure, that he wrote an elaborate paper on what he terms "a kind of discovery," in the 19th vol. of the Archæologia, p. 353-1. in which he gives nineteen examples, measured by himself. But he never acknowledges his debt to Cesariano, with whom however he appears to have been acquainted. Amongst the examples of this conformity are, the Lateran; St. Peter's and St. Paul's, at Rome; the Abbey Church at Bath; Croyland Church; Hereford Cathedral; old Lincoln Cathedral (according to Essex); Bildwas Abbey Church; Castleacre Church; St. George's, Windsor; St. Peter's Crypt, Oxford; Lostwithiel, Cornwall; Runcton Holme, &c. &c.

The purpose of the second Rule (a Pariquadrato) is also ichnographic, and determines the position of the columns or piers, and the external walls and buttresses; by dividing the area comprehended in the Vesica Piscis into commensurate squares, or bays (i. e. pariquadrati); on the intersections of which these columns and piers are placed. The number of them will be determined by the extent and magnitude of the plan: in the accompanying illustration of the rule, we have 14 by 8; in the chapels of Wykeham we have 7 by 4.

Plate 5. is designed to explain the three normal rules, as they may be traced in many of our English churches.

Fig. 1. is the development of the first rule.

Fig. 2. explains the determination (by the symbol of the Vesica Piscis) of the length and breadth of the church, and

from which fig. 1 in the accompanying plate is taken, may be considered the best commentary upon this symbolism.

by subdivision of this figure into squares, the position of its piers and columns.

Fig. 3. explains the rule by which the heights of the ceiling, the roof, the spire, &c., are determined, namely, by equilateral triangles erected upon the plan.

Fig. 4. represents the single-aisled church.

Fig. 5. the double-aisled church.

This important fundamental rule will be found to apply to a great number of examples in this country, as York cathedral, Winchester, Worcester, Lichfield, Hereford, Salisbury, Norwich, Exeter, Westminster, Romsey[1], &c. &c.; in Italy, the beautiful and magnificent church of St. Petronio at Bologna; and in most of the works of the architects Lombardi, as St. Zaccaria, and San Salvatore in Venice, in France, Rouen and others; in Germany, Prague and others: but it is to be noted that another rule of distribution (not yet discovered) is more frequent in the latter countries.

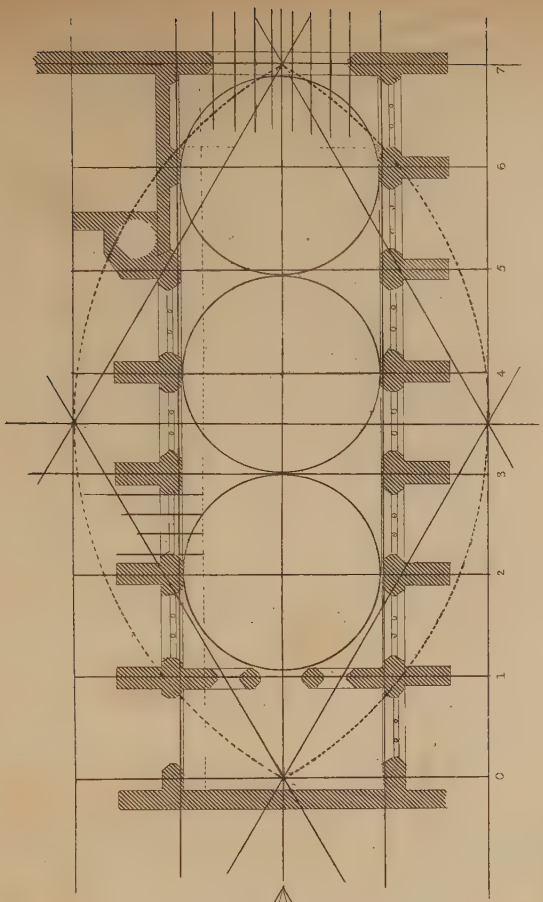
This simple rule of commensuration, preserved to us by Cesariano, the "Pariquadrato," is purely of mediæval invention, and has many advantages over the Roman distribution of the Basilica (from which the western church was professedly imitated), inasmuch as the columns in the Basilica are, longitudinally, more nearly approached than they are laterally, consequently they form two distinct rows or lines of columns—and the grove-like intricacy of the latter (the mediæval distribution), so pleasing to the sense of order and picturesque effect, is not attained.

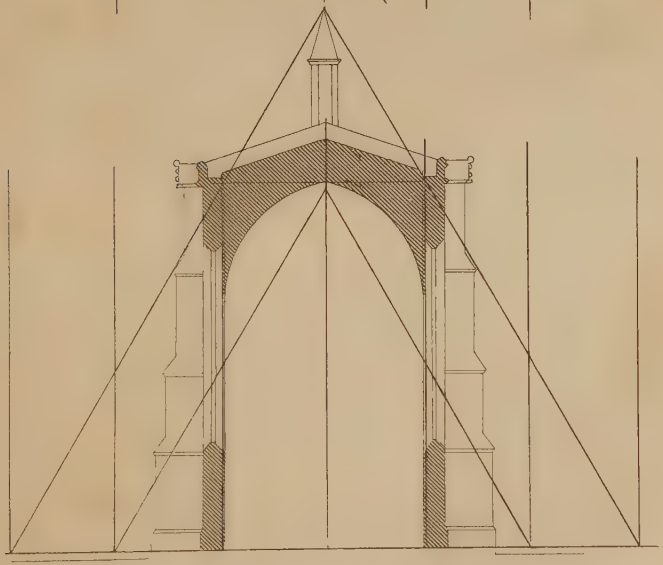
The value of such a normal rule to the workman as this, is obvious; he establishes at once an unerring principle of order and harmony in his distribution, and by observing (according to the doctrine of Vitruvius, l. iii. c. 1.) the same principle of commensuration throughout his ichnography (which Wykeham always did) he secures the due relation and proportion of the minutest part of his structure[m].

The object of the third Rule (also "a Trigono") is orthographic and equally important, inasmuch as it establishes the normal heights in his elevations and sections by equilateral triangles; the sides of which shall correspond with the diameter of his entire plan; or its commensurate parts; accord-

[1] The engravings of Mr. Britton have here been relied on.

[m] Mr. Billing has discovered this principle in the structure of the ornamental detail of Carlisle cathedral, and has ably illustrated it by many beautiful examples.





10 0 10 20 30 40 50 feet.

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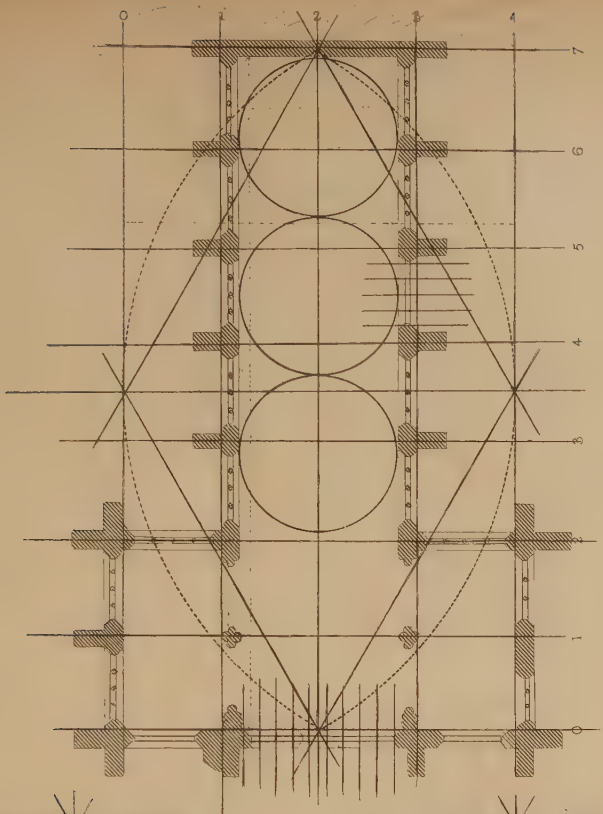
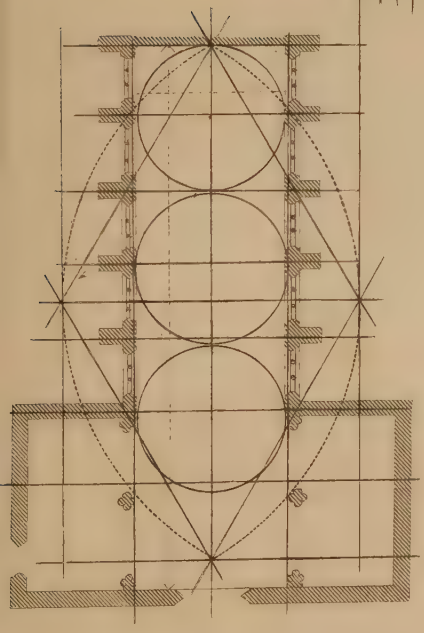
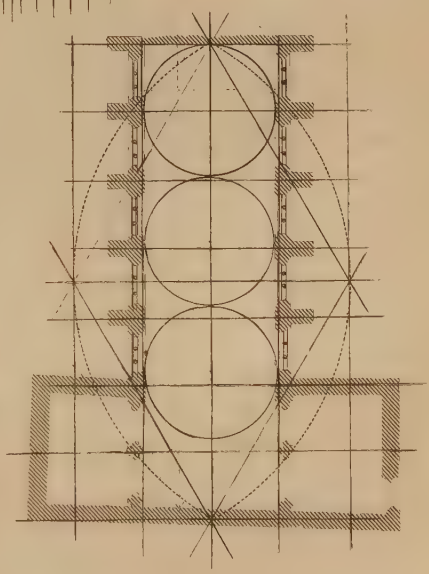
NEW COLLEGE CHAPEL.





MAGDALEN CHAPEL.



ALL SOULS CHAPEL.

0 10 20 30 40 50 feet.

ing to Cesariano, fol. 15 (and in the accompanying engraving), which he styles "Orthographiæ ab ichnographia exorta perfiguratio procurrens ad Frontem *exastylam*[n] Sacræ Ædis Baricephalæ secundum Germanicam symmetriam uti ea quæ Mediolani perstructa est a Trigonali ratione ac norma perequata videtur."

The examples of this rule abound in the cathedrals of England; as at York, Worcester, Lichfield, Hereford, Winchester, Wells, Exeter, and lastly, at the modern St. Paul's, London; in Germany, Fribourg, Breslau, Prague, Vienna; in Italy, Bologna, with many others, as well as Milan.

The illustration of this very simple system of distribution given us by Cesariano, and explained in the accompanying plate, precludes the necessity of enlarging upon its application to the chapels of Wykeham's colleges, which is sufficiently explained by plates 4 and 5. Thus we have the solution of that problem of proportion and beauty of distribution which every practised judgment at once acknowledges in Wykeham's admirable works: and whoever might entertain a doubt as to the value of these rules, may have the great advantage of proving their efficacy by the inspection and comparison of the two copies, of All Souls' and Magdalene chapels, which can be visited in succession in the immediate neighbourhood.

The application of the first and second (though not the third) rules of Cesariano in New College chapel is exact: the whole and the parts are commensurate, as well in the bays or squares, as also in the subdivision of the days of the windows; of the flanks, as also of the west end; while in All Souls' and Magdalene[o] the divergences are extreme; and without descending to admeasurement the spectator cannot fail to be disagreeably affected by the anomalous appearance

[n] The application of the word style (the Grecian column στῦλος) to the pier or buttress of the western front, as a designation equally applicable to the Grecian portico or the buttressed front of mediæval churches, is observed by Cæsariano, throughout his illustrations of the temples of Vitruvius. Thus the illustration above is a tetrastyle, as also New College chapel, and indeed most of our English churches, (none of which have a double aisle, in the manner of the great continental churches,) while the double aisled, as Milan, is hexastyle. The church of Wells, and some others, according to Cæsariano, would be a hexastyle, pseudodipteros. This application of the term style to the pier or buttress is at total variance with the modern, which applies the term style to fenestral arrangements, as the lancet style, the Perpendicular style, &c., always referring to openings, as windows or doors.

[o] Mons. d'Agincourt, in his admirable work on the arts of the middle ages, has given us sections of these churches, in which he has recognised this third rule, but the two others appear to have escaped him.

of the latter, (the feeble and inaccurate copies of their correct original,) both in the bays, and in the subdivision of the days of the windows.

We are to observe that Wykeham deemed the proportion of three diameters in length (described in the plan by circles) essential to the beauty of his choir within the screen or rood-loft; he therefore makes his diagram *inclusive* of the walls, whereas in the copies it is *exclusive* of the walls; the consequence of which is, that the spectator is immediately sensible of the deficiency of due length and perspective, both in All Souls' and Magdalene chapels; those choirs being less than three diameters in length.

In these copies it is obvious that the rule had been lost or was disregarded, and the proportion of the choirs is consequently deficient[p]. In less than half a century the wars of the roses and the afflictions of the country had obscured the noble school of architecture, which the patronage of Hen. II., Edw. I., and Edw. III., and the precepts of Alan de Walsyngham and Wykeham and others had fostered. And that ruin of the great rules of the architectural schools of our country, which the revival of classical taste of Italy and throughout Europe finally accomplished, was now, under Archbishop Chichele and Bishop Wayneflete, rapidly accelerated.

The chapel at Winchester is upon the same principle; the vestibule, in completion of the number seven, being included. Here we are to observe that this feature, occupying one only of the seven divisions, instead of two as in New College, the relation of three diameters, (Wykeham's justly favoured proportion,) is obtained without making his diagram, as in New College chapel, *inclusive* of the walls.

The application of the third, the orthographic rule, is not traced so distinctly in the elevations and interior of New College chapel, though more exactly in that of Winchester; and we also perceive the value of the principle of the extension of these squares laterally, for the purpose of establishing the height of the ceiling, and of the acroteria or pinnacles in the east and west fronts.

Thus, by the comparison of the works of our William of

[p] And yet it appears from Anthony Wood, p. 275, that Chichele's chapel was built by "the king's masons."

Wykeham with those of Omodei in the famous cathedral of Milan, with the help of the architect Cesare Cesariano, and in his commentary on Vitruvius, we are enabled to ascertain some important principles of design in mediæval architecture; which may lead to the discovery of others; and enable us to make some progress in this interesting subject, the theory of mediæval architecture: not less curious and illustrative of the ideas of those days, than of the all-important theory of the Art itself.

The perception of proportion, the fundamental element of the beautiful in architecture, seems to be the last acquirement of the student instead of the first. We begin by admiring ornaments, details, and forms, but it is at a more advanced stage only, that we make all these subordinate to that sense of rhythmical proportion, and that harmony of quantities, which affect the mind like a mathematical truth, and, like a concord of musical sounds on the ear, is perceived and confessed by the eye as obvious and unalterable.

Doubtless for wise and all-sufficient reasons nature has denied to the eye that clear perception of discord which the ear detects so readily; custom, convention, and often incapacity of discernment, reconcile us to those proportions we are most used to, and we are blind to those defects which a fresh and accomplished eye is at once shocked at: yet the sense of vision so studied by the Greeks, and hardly less in the mediæval days, is to be educated like the moral sense and every other, by the diligent culture of science.

The informed artist recognises the claim which this great element of art has above all others on his studious attention. He feels that it is the great frame-work, the canon and the law, by which alone he is to achieve excellence. And wherever he perceives that secret charm, either in external forms, or the much more difficult internal proportions; he anxiously investigates it, as the key which is to discover to him the whole mystery of beauty in architecture. He seizes with extreme delight any rule that will conduct his works to the excellence so apparent, and so universally admitted in the Greek and often in the mediæval proportions—he rejoices in any, the slightest elements of their grammar and syntax, by which he can attain to their eloquent language—and he confesses that without them all is caprice, hazard, and fashion; and that the soul is wanting, though some semblance of the external cle-

ments, like an empty mask, may be substituted.—Lastly he acknowledges that though in the mediæval style, the mystical and the superstitious may be found somewhat obtrusive, yet if their observance obtained *proportion*, we readily compound for so great an advantage.

It remains to observe upon the mysterious numbers employed by Wykeham in the plans of his chapels at Winchester and Oxford, which are divided longitudinally by seven and transversely by four equal parts: in the first the chapel consists of six of these parts and the antechapel of one: in the second the chapel consists of five and the antechapel of two; the width being equal to four, corresponding with the entire figure of the vesica piscis. The convenience and appropriateness of this antechapel, at Oxford more especially, the striking grace of the isolated columns, contrasted with the engaged columns or piers of the choir, the happy order of the ceiling, and plan, which they complete, satisfy the eye of taste of the geometrical beauty and aptness of the invention—carried out as it is in all its parts with the utmost geometrical harmony, order, and beauty; and well deserving all that architectural delineation in detail, which the purpose of this essay does not admit of, and can only point at as most desirable.

The recurrence of the number *seven*, "a number of perfection," is constant, accordingly we find the number seven employed in the following remarkable instances, sometimes in the nave and sometimes in the choir: In the cathedral churches of York, Westminster, Exeter, Bristol, Durham, Lichfield, Paris, Amiens, Chartres, Evreux, Romsey church, Waltham Abbey, Buildwas, the Norman portion of St. Alban's, Castle Acre, St. George's Windsor, Roslyn, &c. &c.[q]

This attachment to numbers is conformable to the universal practice of the middle ages, and may be traced in the mysterious number (determined by Wykeham) of the members of the

[q] A community of idea seems also to have existed amongst the Jews and the Gentiles, in respect of this number; in Prov. ix. 1. Solomon writes—

Wisdom hath built her house;
She hath hewn out her seven pillars.

The two most remarkable temples of Grecian antiquity are also established in the number seven, namely, the cella of the Parthenon, the goddess of wisdom, which is supported by seven pillars on either side, and the fronts of the colossal temple of Jupiter Olympius, at Agrigentum, which are adorned with seven columns in the east and west, and fourteen in the flanks.

The arithmetical influence of numbers, remarked by Vitruvius, in c. 1. of the third book, received in the middle ages the superaddition of mystical influence also. The "number of perfection," seven, involves most of the events and mysterious circumstances set forth in the sacred books. "It is that number," saith the great Leon Batista Alberti, b. iv. c. 5, "in which the Almighty himself, the maker of all things, takes particular delight."

college at Winchester, pointed out by Milner, vol. ii. c. 5. "The ten fellows and the warden," says he, "represent the eleven apostles, Judas being of course omitted; the seventy scholars and the two masters, the seventy-two disciples of our Saviour; the three chaplains and the three inferior clerks mark the six faithful deacons, Nicholas, one of them, having apostatized, has therefore no representative; finally, the sixteen choristers represent the four great and the twelve minor prophets." So, according to the fashion of that day, Dean Collet ordained 153 scholars at St. Paul's school, referring (John xxi. 11.) to the one hundred and fifty and three fishes which Simon Peter drew to the land, "yet was not the net broken."

The architectural figure and detail of these buildings as they address the sense of sight, are beyond the intention of the present essay, and would require elaborate engravings; we must confine ourselves to a few general observations upon them only: but these are no less instructive to us, and characteristic of the times and of the man, than the organization of the plan and structure which we have already examined. Guided by the same fundamental reasons, of logical fitness and sound understanding, these external forms grew from their occasions and the genius loci, like a work of nature; without any other reference to the spectator than such as decorum required in the respective dignity of the several features. No undue sacrifices are ever made to architectural effects and symmetries, uniformities, or ostentatious display. The windows of the chapel and hall presenting themselves in the same front, for instance, would, according to our notions, have been made uniform; but Wykeham distinguishes the purposes, and gives appropriate windows to each, and it never occurs to him to impose on the spectator by any false semblances. Again, in the same front we should have required the projection and width of the wings formed by the transept and the muniment tower at Oxford to be uniform and alike, but he proportions them to their purposes, and defies pedantic rule. Simplicity and sincerity of purpose thus maintained throughout, produce a more substantial impression upon the spectator, like moral truthfulness, than the most elaborate endeavour of the ambitious architect to attract and

captivate; and whoever will raise the elevations and sections upon the plan, erecting the several features, the chapel towers, and buildings in due gradation, will find a result full of that natural grace, and admixture of the regular with the picturesque, which, while they satisfy the understanding, fulfil all the requirements of the architect and the painter. And it may be truly said, that as we have discovered the statesman and the financier in the wisdom, forecast, and economy of the plan, so in the beauty of the external architecture and its appropriate ornaments we equally perceive the man of taste and the courtier.

The traveller who has heard or read only of the colleges at Oxford and Winchester, may be disappointed at his first approach through narrow streets to their blank and humble walls, with high pitched roofs and dripping eaves, and no other indication of their great purpose than the turreted gateway. The stately tower indeed and the ample portal, the virgin and child,—or the annunciation, with the bishop in adoration,—the king and the bishop again on either side of the label,—the elaborated vaulted ceiling with its recognizances, proclaim the dignity of these institutions. This impression is gradually augmented as he scans the greater regularity of the quadrangles, and the imposing mass of the chapel and refectory which form the climax, and more especially when he penetrates this noble building, and appreciates its admirable proportions and appropriate ornaments.

The chief expression of Wykeham's architecture is its constructive character; throughout we trace the sound builder, the able mason, the ingenious carpenter, whose well-designed operations satisfying the mind, carry with it the fancy, by natural consequence in harmonious consent; and an unsought felicity follows as a matter of course. He wrought out his design through the model, and an intimate knowledge of the materials, and careful consideration of the wants and requirements on the spot.

His cornices and labels and water tables explain their purpose of carrying off the wet; the buttresses are never for ornament alone, but proportioned to the support and durability of the edifice. No parasitical excrescences obtrude themselves ostentatiously, no parts and prettinesses are indulged which may not be accounted for by a natural grace and logical fitness. Observe the buttresses or the windows at Winchester

and Oxford, and we are astonished at the fitness of each to its place, the variety of resource, the absence of manner, and the mastery of design in the whole and in the minute detail of profile, the calculation of light and shade, and the contour in the forms; as for instance the acute external mouldings of the window frames or mullions, and the corresponding interior boutels, suited to the light and situation in which they are to be viewed. He was one of the first to employ in his towers and turrets those polygonal forms of greater suavity and grace; thus mitigating that harshness which the radical elements of the style, the eternal square and triangle, are so apt to involve; the acuteness and the dryness of which are its inherent vices, as contrasted with the flowing and milder forms of classical architecture.

He was one of the first to recognise the utility of the four-centred arch, and to employ its depressed form where a superincumbent floor made it convenient. It is probable that he did not encourage that fashionable adoption of it, which introduced it (under Edgington, his predecessor in the see of Winchester) into the cathedral itself, for we find uniformly the two-centred arch in his halls and chapels; while the four-centred was confined to situations of limited elevation.

He was one of the first to condemn the tenuity, elongation, and weakness, real and apparent, of the Lancet and Decorated style, and to introduce the so called Perpendicular, which fortified, by its mullions or constructive subdivision of skeleton framing, or network, the enormous openings then demanded by the growing fashion of fenestral decoration; as Chaucer says,

——————— "richly peint
With lives of many divers seint."

He abandoned the high-pitched shingle roofs excluding sun and air, and was one of the first to employ the low pediment, and roof covered with lead; and in his works we first discover the hammer-beam roof in all its varieties, a system of the highest ingenuity and constructive economy, both for space and material, as well as beauty and power, as exhibited in Westminster Hall, Eltham palace, Windsor hall, and our college chapels and halls; and we may judge from the professed imitation of New College chapel, in All Souls' chapel, built

shortly after by Archbishop Chichele, and the evidence of veterans who have survived Wyatt's repairs, that he employed it in that ceiling, in preference to the vaulted form adopted at Winchester; whether on account of cost, or from taste, does not appear.

In the distribution of his staircases, doorways, passages, and easements, his economy of contrivance is perfect, and reminds us of the self-formed creation of the testaceous tribe; the mansion-shell of which has grown into harmony with the wants of the inhabitant.

His winding staircases (scala a lumaca, as the Italians call them) deliver the passengers upon their several floors with admirable convenience to the foot, and precision to the eye; the arches and corbels grow out of their walls by natural processes, according to their use, and are admirably shaped to the exigencies of the occupier: the walls indeed generally, and the buttresses more particularly, grasp the soil of their foundation with digitated extensors, always proportioned to their perpendicular and lateral pressures. They produce their plain and robust sides in gradual diminution against the building they are calculated to fortify; they seem to ramify in the window-heads and muntens; and separating themselves from the parapet above, shoot forth and effloresce in graceful pinnacles and crockets.

In the more poetical expression of his work, through the agency of sculpture and ornament a noble and appropriate sentiment is every where apparent, characterized however by that admixture of quaint and sublime, which in Chaucer and the poetic minds of the day is so frequent. The mother of Christ, Wykeham's especial patroness, is all purity and grace; the angel Gabriel and the bishop in adoration express the most empassioned reverence, and the most profound humility; the uncouth and barbaric heads in the corbels which surround them, contrasting with their graciousness, form that antithesis which the great masters in fine arts of the succeeding centuries employed so abundantly.

The virgin patroness again presides over the western pinnacle of the chapel, and the angel Michael at the other termination of the building menaces with his flaming falchion the sensual demons which might approach the hall, refectory, the cellar, and the kitchen; the angel Raphael points to the entrance to the house of prayer at New College; the king and

the bishop support the label of the gateways to the college at Winchester, and the entrance of the chapel; and as the appointed guardians and supporters of temporal and spiritual things, they sustain alternately the corbels or springers of the ceiling of the chapel.

At the entrance of the hall and kitchen the recreating psaltery and bagpipe are affixed; over the kitchen window is excess, a head vomiting; and opposite is frugality in the figure of a bursar, with his iron-bound money-chest: over the master's windows are the pedagogue instructing, and a listless scholar, scarcely attentive to the book he holds in his hand. Elsewhere we recognise the soldier, the scholar, the clergyman, &c., as suggesting the various professions in which the inmates may occupy themselves in after life.

The inept substitutions for these significant and appropriate ornaments, which we resign so often (in our imitative mania) to the gross and uninformed carver, are not warranted by the example of Wykeham's works; they are amongst the most palpable evidences of the insufficiency and inaptness of our mimicry of this style, in most instances in the present day; and they betray as great ignorance of the poetical mind and spirit of mediæval sculpture, as of the true principles of its architectural proportions. It is true that like the taste in literature, the arts often expressed themselves in a rhetorical redundancy, and florid hyperboles, turgid, minute, and whimsical; frequently condescending to pun and rebus, anagrams, and conceits of manifold invention, to captivate the fancy of the spectator; but we have another occasion of admiration of Wykeham in finding no indulgence of that erroneous taste; and hardly any ornaments, of this kind, can be detected in his buildings, which are not entirely appropriate and significant, and entirely admissible by the severer and more elegant rules of classical criticism; allowing always for the Gothic disregard of higher and more enlightened principles of taste, and for the mortified and melancholy subjects on which the fine arts were then chiefly employed.

Finally, on the chapel wall at Winchester, and opposite to the second gateway, is a record never yet explained, to which the ornamental subject of this portion of our essay naturally leads us: it consists of a coat of arms attributed to the Uvedale family. Sir Nicholas Uvedale was Wykeham's first patron, the founder of his fortunes. Did he wish in this silent and

unexplained memento, by affixing the seal of his earliest friend to his dearest work, to express that obligation for which no words would suffice; still by this finishing touch to his noble institution to draw the attention of his pupils to the source from which all his munificence and greatness had sprung, and to suggest that first sentiment of every generous mind, a full acknowledgment and deep gratitude for early benefits? If such motives, so consonant with the piety and beauty of Wykeham's mind, were not his inducements, the learned have still to explain a memorial so questionably placed, and yet otherwise so difficult of solution.

C. R. COCKERELL.

A SHORT NOTICE OF THE PAINTED GLASS IN WINCHESTER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD,

(Read for the writer by the Rev. J. L. Petit, on the 13th of September, 1845, at the Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Winchester; and then accompanied with fifteen drawings of Painted Glass.)

Figures of the Carpenter, the Mason, and the Clerk of the Works, from the East Window of the College Chapel.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to observe that an *original* glass painting, whatever may be its age, possesses features characteristic of the period at which it was executed; and this, whether the work formed a complete design of itself, or was merely a repair, or an addition. But inasmuch as it would be impossible, without the aid of numerous *finished* drawings, and without vastly exceeding the limits of such a paper as this, to point out, except in very vague and general terms, the marks by which the date of a glass painting may be ascertained with tolerable exactness, I shall not enter into the subject at present, but confine myself to a short notice of the glass in the Cathedral, College, St. John's Church, St. Cross, &c. I ought, however, to state that the peculiarities in the design and execution of glass paintings are as capable of convenient classification as are architectural peculiarities; and that I shall refer to the three great medieval styles of glass painting by the terms *Early English, Deco-*

rated, and *Perpendicular*, each style being nearly contemporaneous with the synonymous style of architecture, as defined by Rickman, to whose phraseology I think it advisable to adhere as much as possible. The term *cinque cento* I shall apply to any glass prior to the year 1550, which exhibits in its details the peculiar style of ornament known by this name.

The earliest specimens of Early English glass that I have met with in this neighbourhood are two fragments, probably of a border, worked in with other glass, in the west window of the nave of St. Cross; and two other fragments, likewise of a border, over the door leading into the refectory. All this glass is precisely of the same character, and I think early in the 13th century. It doubtless came out of one of the Norman windows of the church, and is all that I have been able to discover of the original glazing.

A few small fragments of *later* Early English are at present contained in two boxes in the cloisters of Winchester College, which are filled with scraps, principally of glass of Wykeham's time, brought from New College Chapel, Oxford. A few similar fragments may be seen amongst other glass at St. Cross. This glass is of the last half of the 13th century, and is similar to that in Salisbury Cathedral.

Two *circles* of *early* Decorated glass are over the door of the refectory of St. Cross, and two or three more in the west window of Winchester Cathedral. They are composed of mere plain pieces of coloured glass disposed in a geometrical pattern, and prove how much of the effect of *early* glass is owing to the *texture of the material*. There are fragments of early Decorated borders scattered about the windows of St. Cross. There is also a piece of early Decorated ornament in one of the before-mentioned boxes; and in the east window of the north aisle of Romsey church, Hants, is an early Decorated panel, containing a representation of Christ bearing the Cross. All this is, I think, of the beginning of the 14th century.

There are also specimens of later Decorated glass at St. Cross; in the boxes in the college, and in a tracery light of the north window of De Lacy's work in the cathedral.

This neighbourhood is much richer in the early Perpendicular than in any other glass.

The earliest specimen consists of the heads of two canopies in the east window of the chancel of St. John's Church,

Winchester, in which it is hard to say whether the Decorated or the Perpendicular features predominate.

The next in date is afforded by the remains of the original glass in the west window of Winchester Cathedral, the west windows of the aisles, and the first window in the south aisle, counting from the west. No painted glass remains in the first and second windows from the west in the north aisle. This glass chiefly consists of the heads of canopies; in the west window, however, two or three of the original figures remain. It is undoubtedly the earliest Perpendicular glass in the cathedral, and may be the work of Wykeham's predecessor, Bishop Edington.

In Wykeham's will, dated rather more than a year before his death[a], he bequeaths a sum of money for the glazing of the windows of the cathedral, beginning from the west end, *at the first window of the new work done by him*; from which it would appear that some windows at the western end of the edifice had been already glazed. The character of the glass in the above-mentioned windows, which I presume were glazed by Bishop Edington, is, however, nearly identical with that in the east windows of the ante-chapel of New College, Oxford, and with most of that in the before-mentioned boxes, which I am informed was taken from the west window of New College Chapel, Oxford, at the time the window designed by Sir Joshua Reynolds was put up.

The next in date in Winchester Cathedral is the glass in the other windows of the aisles of the nave, and in the clear-story windows of the nave. This is a little later than the glass in the west window, and is of precisely the same character as the original glass now remaining in the north, south, and west windows of the ante-chapel of New College Chapel, Oxford. According to Wykeham's will, these windows of the cathedral were to be glazed in the following order. Those of the south aisle and clearstory, first, beginning from the west; then those of the north aisle and clear-story, also beginning from the west, provided the money would go so far[b]. Much more glass remains on the north than on the south side of the cathedral; but from the existing fragments I cannot discover any perceptible difference between the glass on either side, whether in the drawing or in the texture of the material.

[a] Wykeham died Sept. 24, 1404.

[b] Lowth's Life of Wykeham, p. 387.

Four figures, and parts of their canopies, belonging to this glass, appear to have been removed into the first window from the east of the clearstory of the choir. The head of the westernmost figure, a female, is as fine as any thing that I have yet seen in glass of this or any other period.

In the west window of the nave of St. Cross are many quarries of this date, and the original part of the figures in the lower part of the window is coeval with the quarries. The *cross* in this window, which is embedded in the quarries, is *modern*, and is made of *sheet copper*.

The College Chapel *was*, it seems, originally glazed with glass of the same date as that I have just been speaking of.

All the present glass in its side windows is, however, *modern*, as well as all that in its east window, with the trifling exception of some little bits in the tracery lights of the east window, consisting of two small figures, the head of an angel, and four other small fragments.

The original designs have been preserved in the modern glass with considerable fidelity; indeed, considering the time when it was executed, about twenty years ago, it must be admitted to be a *very good copy* of the old. The art of making coloured glass was not so well understood then as now: in particular the manufacture of Ruby glass, like that of the 15th and 16th centuries, was revived by the French only a few years ago, and consequently long after these windows were painted. The artist therefore worked under peculiar disadvantages; nevertheless had the old glass of the chapel been copied this very year however exactly, and with whatever care in the selection of the colours, the chapel windows would have been only *one degree* better in appearance than they now are. They would merely have exhibited the colouring of the 16th century, instead of as they now do that of the 19th, united with the drawing of the early part of the 15th century. For the *texture* of all modern manufactured glass, uncoloured as well as coloured, is identical only with that of the 16th century, and is totally different from the texture of earlier glass. I cannot too pointedly call attention to this fact, nor too earnestly express my decided opinion that, with the *present materials*, the only glass which we can successfully imitate, and consequently the only styles in which modern glass should under these circumstances be painted, are those of the 16th century. In all old glass the *nature of the material*

varies as completely as the character of the drawing and execution: indeed, the *texture* of the glass affords of itself a criterion of its date. This principle of adapting the execution to the material pervades all ancient, and indeed all other manufactured work of *original design;* and it is in vain to imitate the drawing without also imitating the material in which the work is to be executed. Hence it is that modern encaustic tiles, whatever may be the date of the pattern impressed upon them, always *appear* to be of *the same date*, viz., that of the manufacture of the tile: and hence it also is, that the best modern Early English and Decorated windows must always fail to please a *practised* eye, not only on account of their violation of the rules of style, but, what is a far greater objection in a work of art, on account of the total want of harmony between the *material* and *the mode in which it is worked.*

To return, however, from this digression. The windows in the chapel are still of great value, as giving the arrangement, and to a considerable extent the drawing of the original work.

The next glass in order of date is in the heads of the three westernmost windows, on the north side of the clearstory of the choir in Winchester Cathedral: it consists of canopy work, and cherubim. The four figures in the upper tier of lower lights in the easternmost of these three windows are of the same time, and appear to be in their original position. The eight figures and canopies in the upper tier of the two easternmost windows on the south side of this clearstory are likewise of the same date; but these are all too short by six or ten inches for the spaces they occupy, which would cause a suspicion of their having been removed from some other windows. All this glass is, I think, of the close of Henry the Sixth's reign.

There are fragments of glass of the same date as that last noticed, scattered about the windows of St. John's Church, Winchester.

The glass remaining in the east window of the north transept of St. Cross is a little later. A better specimen of the border which ornaments the glass in this window may be seen in the east window of the chancel of St. Peter's Church, Cheesehill, Winchester.

The glass of the east window of the College Library is of the

time of Edward IV., or early part of the reign of Henry VII., and was removed some years ago to its present position from the small chapel on the south side of the college chapel, in which the font now is. The glass is too narrow for the spaces it occupies.

The arms in the windows of the Refectory at St. Cross, consisting of those of Cardinal Beaufort, and a shield bearing the livery colours of his family, are of the latter half of the 15th century. The cardinal's arms are surmounted with his hat, and surrounded with its pendent strings. The whole is on a quarry ground, on which is repeated a motto, which I presume to be the cardinal's. The words are "A Hono & Lyesse," written on small scrolls[c].

The glass in the east window of the Choir of Winchester Cathedral is perhaps a little earlier than 1525, and is the work of Bishop Fox, whose arms, and motto, "Est deo gracia," are introduced into it.

This window must, when perfect, have been a truly magnificent one: it would be unfair to judge of it in its present state. The only part of the glass now in its original position consists (as I think) of the two figures which occupy the two southernmost of the lower lights, and of that in all the tracery lights, except the top central one and the three immediately below it. The top central light is filled principally with some glass of Wykeham's time, and all the rest of the window with glass of Fox's time, removed from other windows.

This window, when compared with the surrounding ones, exhibits most strikingly the characteristic features of the time. It is superior to the other glass paintings in the fulness and arrangement of its colours, but it is less brilliant, owing to the greater depth of the shading, to which the increased roundness of the figures is owing. In point of *execution*, I apprehend that it is as nearly perfect as painted glass can be. In it the shadows have attained their *proper limit*. Deeper shadows would have produced blackness and opacity, and lighter shadows a greater degree of flatness than is necessarily inherent in a *real* glass painting. This is the style which in my opinion ought to be adopted at the present day, using the *cinque cento* ornaments when the glass is destined for a Roman or Palladian building, and Gothic details when the glass is, as here, designed for a Gothic edifice. It was at this

[c] A representation of these arms is given in the accompanying cut.

period that glass painting attained its highest perfection as an *art*. This circumstance alone would be a sufficient reason, one would think, for adopting the style of the first half of the 16th century in modern works, in preference to the earlier and less perfect styles, but I have already pointed out a fatal objection to the adoption of earlier styles;—*the impossibility of obtaining glass of the requisite texture in which to execute works designed in any of the earlier styles.*

Bishop Fox's glass seems originally to have extended into some of the side windows of the clearstory of the choir, the heads of some of his canopies still retaining their original positions in these windows. The easternmost window on the north side of this clearstory was evidently at one time filled with his glass. The tracery lights still remain, and it is curious to observe how their design and arrangement of colour are accommodated to the design and arrangement of colour of the earlier glass in the other windows of this clearstory, and which I have before said I believe to be of the latter part of the reign of Henry VI.

The aisle windows, both on the north and south sides of the choir, also contain remains of Bishop Fox's glass. When perfect, the glass in this part of the cathedral might have stood a comparison with the finest continental examples.

There is also some late glass, but much mutilated, in the east window of the Lady-chapel of the cathedral; and in one of the east windows of the south transept are a few fragments of *cinque cento* glass.

In the Library at the Deanery are some excellent specimens of heraldic glass, of the time of James I. and Charles I., in which, however, the decline of the art of glass painting is very apparent.

There are other detached portions of glass scattered about Winchester, but I have described I believe the greater part, in order to enable others to make out a series of glass of different dates, to examine it, and judge for themselves, assuring them that a careful investigation of existing specimens will alone enable them to acquire a critical knowledge of painted glass. And as every little fragment of painted glass has its value in the eyes of the student, however insignificant it may be in itself, I will again urge those who have painted glass in their possession *carefully to preserve it.* Time is perpetually destroying the evidences of art, and his chief assistants are

the negligence and indifference of those who chance to possess specimens, valuable only for the purposes of comparison with more perfect works.

I cannot conclude without expressing my gratitude to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester for their kindness in permitting me free access to every part of the Cathedral; and also to the Warden of Winchester College, for allowing me to examine the glass in the boxes in the cloister, and to copy such parts of it as I thought proper. C. WINSTON.

Winchester, Sept. 9th, 1845.

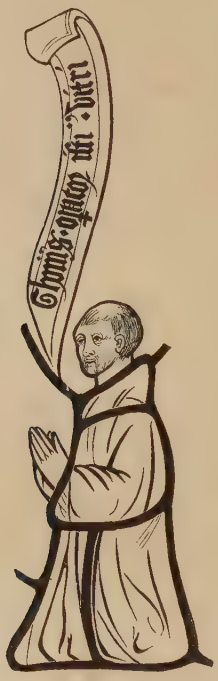


Figure of the Glass Painter from the East Window of the College Chapel.

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES

OF THE

CHURCHES AND OTHER ANCIENT BUILDINGS

IN THE CITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

OF WINCHESTER.

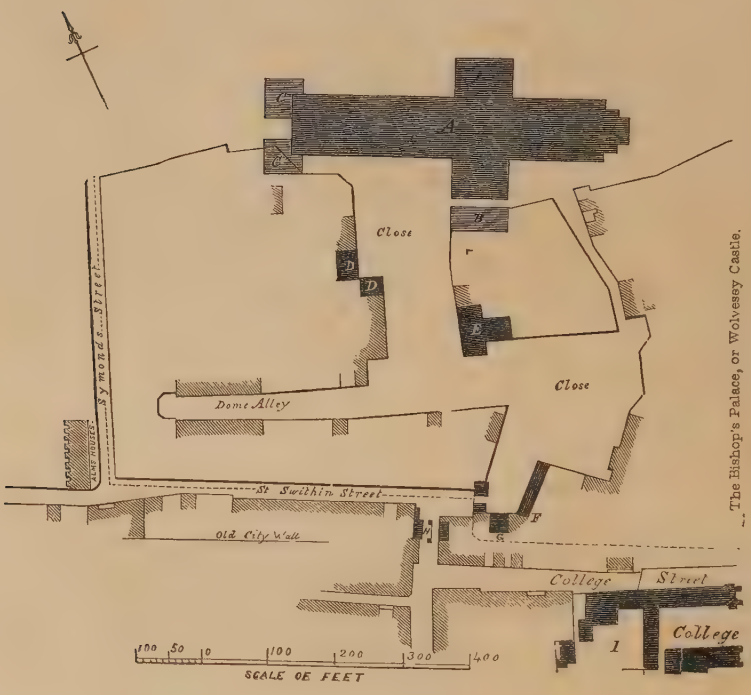
The Royal Palace was situated near the West Gate, and the present county courts were the hall of the palace, built in the thirteenth century, by King Henry III. as Mr. Smirke has proved. This hall is a remarkably fine specimen of the Domestic architecture of that period, and is divided by pillars and arches, like the nave and aisles of a church; this was common in large halls of the middle ages: the windows are of two lights, with a quatrefoil in the head, and in the interior have seats facing each other, formed in the sill, as was customary in domestic buildings of the period, but never found in church windows. At each end of the hall in the gable is a triple lancet window. The two windows on the north side, and one on the south, nearest to the east end, are considerably shorter than the other windows of the hall. Under one of these was a doorway, now blocked up, the situation of the others appears to have been caused by the gallery and screen within, as commonly found in college halls, at the end nearest to the offices, having a passage of communication under the gallery. The original doorway remains at the back, but in the front it has been blocked up, and a new one inserted in another situation. Between the heads of the windows and the buttresses, the wall was ornamented with small sunk panels, both externally and internally; those in the interior remain, and on the exterior they may still be traced. The subterranean passage, probably a sallyport, which was re-opened during the week of the meeting, is an interesting specimen of this kind of work in the thirteenth century.

The West Gate is a valuable specimen of military architecture of the time of Henry III. in a tolerably perfect state, although its appearance has been somewhat altered by the insertion of later windows.

THE PRIORY.—There are considerable remains of the domestic buildings of the Priory, amongst which may be noticed the present Deanery, formerly the Prior's house, which has three external arches and a vaulted passage of the time of Henry III.

The arches are very acute and without shafts; they were originally all open, forming a sort of vestibule to the house,

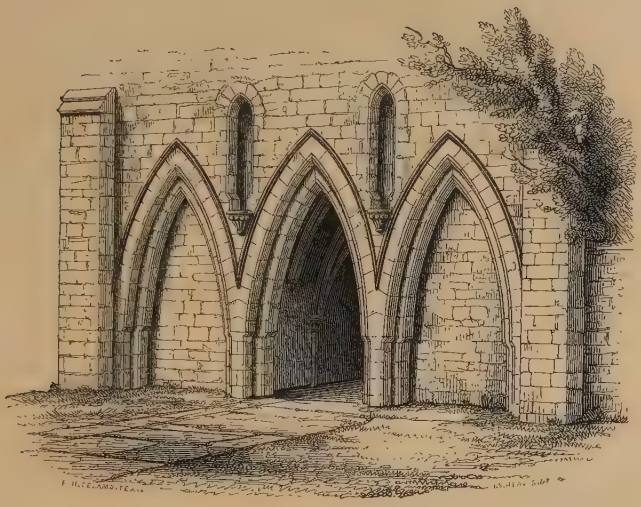
PLAN OF THE CLOSE, SHEWING THE MONASTIC REMAINS.



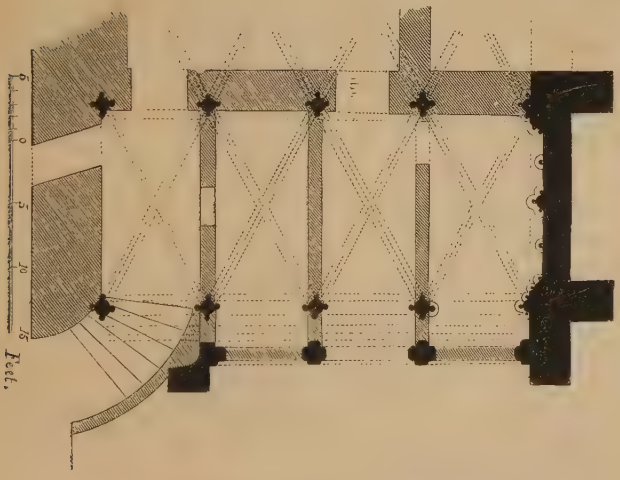
REFERENCES

A. Cathedral.
B. Site of the Chapter-house.
CC. Foundations of the supposed Norman Towers.
DD. Remains of Early English Hall or Refectory.
E. Conventual Remains connected with the Deanery
F. The Dean's Stables.
G. Cheyney Court.
H. Kingsgate.
I College

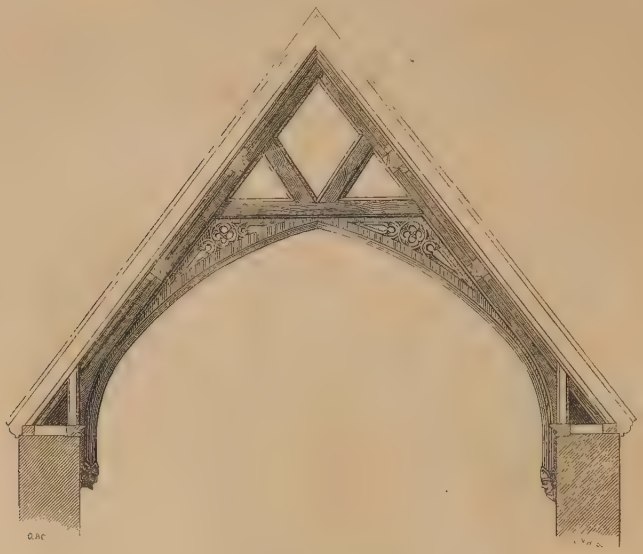
and were probably connected with the cloisters. In the spandrels of the arches are narrow lancet niches, with the brackets for images remaining, and the arches are flanked by the original buttresses on each side.



ENTRANCE TO THE DEANERY.



PLAN OF THE ENTRANCE TO DEANERY.



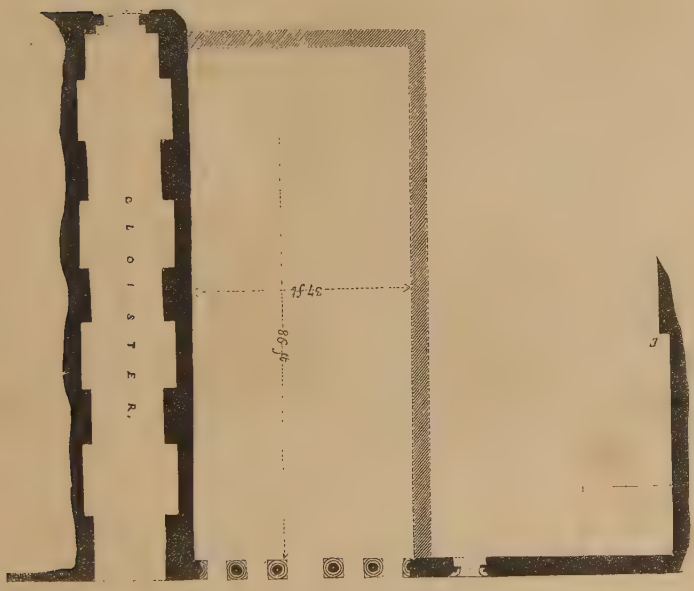
ROOF OF THE DEANERY, OR PRIOR'S HALL.

The hall is of the fifteenth century, with a fine roof and windows, but now divided into several apartments. The construction of the roof is very simple but very good, each pair of principals is supported by a wooden arch springing from corbels, about two feet below the wall-plate, these corbels are carved into heads, some of which appear to be intended as portraits of a particular bishop. At the point of this arch is a collar-beam connected with it, and with two braces meeting in the centre, by which means the whole frame or truss is well tied together, and there is scarcely any more thrust upon the walls than there would be if there was a tie-beam as in modern roofs.

The windows are lofty and divided by a transom, and have the customary seats formed in the sill.

Window in the Deanery

Part of the Chapter-house



Plan of the Chapter house

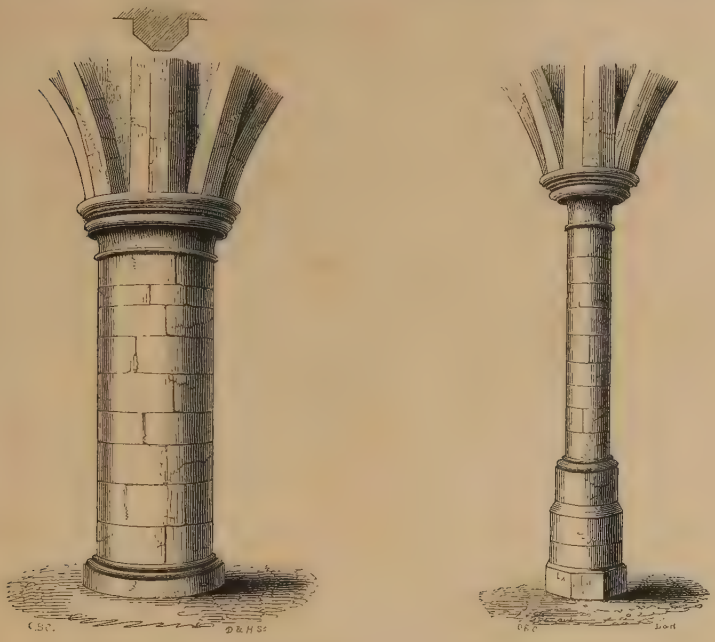
Arches between the Chapter-house and the Cloisters.

The Chapter-house.—The area of the chapter-house is distinctly to be traced in the Dean's garden, adjoining to the south transept of the cathedral, the arcade on the north side is tolerably perfect, and of Norman character; the arches, which formed the communication with the cloister, also remain, though walled up, and afford a bold specimen of the same style. Adjoining to these is an Early English doorway of elegant design, with a trefoil head, and shafts of Petworth marble, but much decayed. Of the cloister itself there are now no remains.

Part of the Chapter-house.

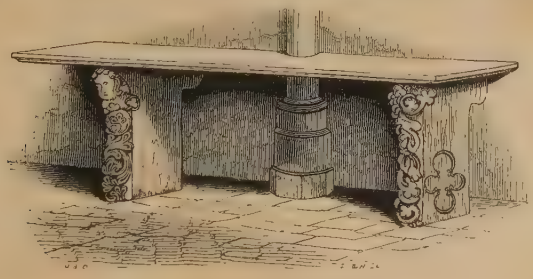
On the west side of the close, under one of the canon's houses, are other vaulted apartments, apparently forming the substructure of another hall, said to have been the Refectory or Strangers' hall, the roof of which may still be traced. The pillars which support the vault are plain round with moulded caps and bases of Early English character: one of them is of slender proportions, the others massive. In the front part of this vaulted substructure, now used as a kitchen, are the two stone legs of a table of the thirteenth century, which are ornamented with good bold sculpture, and sunk panels, the top at present consists of an oak slab of considerable antiquity, but probably not the original one. This is now used as a dresser, but as there is no original fireplace or chimney there

is no evidence that this room was originally a kitchen, and the side table may have been used for some other purpose. In one of the other rooms a late Perpendicular fireplace has



Early English Pillars in the Kitchen.

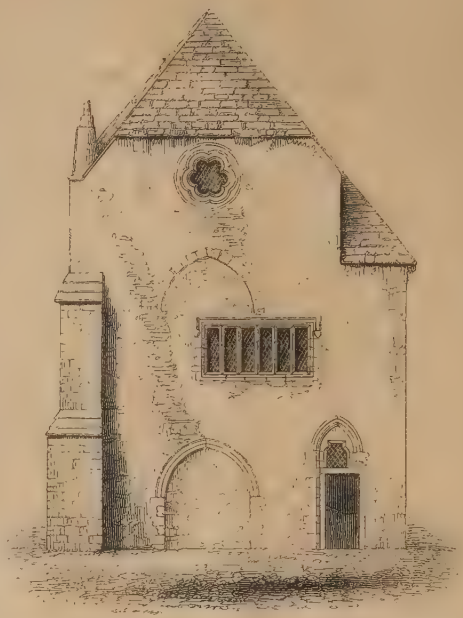
been inserted, and there are remains of early painting on the vault. The whole of the walls of the house which contains



Early English Table in the Kitchen.

this kitchen are of the thirteenth century, as will be seen by the elevations. In the gable of the south end is an elegant rose window, and under it the remains of another larger window. On the ground floor is an arch which formerly

opened into the kitchen, and was the original doorway, the small doorway now used being evidently made out of a window of the same form as the one still remaining in the east front.



SOUTH ELEVATION OF HALL.

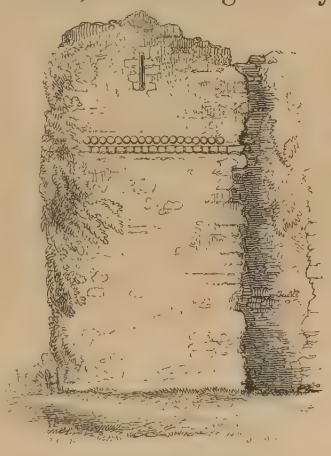
The Dean's stable is a curious wooden structure, with the original wooden roof of the time of Edward I. It is now divided by a floor and partitions, but must have been originally one large room: the construction of the roof is similar to that of the hall in the deanery, but it is more lofty, and the corbel-heads are of the time of Edward I., representing as usual a king and a bishop. The work is however of rude character, more like a good barn roof than that of a hall.

The barge boards of the house, now the porter's lodge, are worthy of notice. There are several other specimens of these in other parts of the city.

The grange of the abbey, still called Barton farm, presents some features worthy of notice, especially some fine chimneys of the fifteenth century.

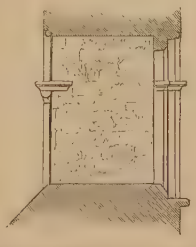
EAST ELEVATION OF HALL

The Bishop's Palace, or Wolvesey Castle, was built by Bishop Henry de Blois, in 1138: the walls of the keep and a great part of the outer walls are nearly perfect, and of good Norman character, deriving a particular interest from a comparison of the masonry with the earliest parts of the church of St. Cross, begun by the same founder. From the strong defensive character of these walls, it is evident that they originally formed part of the external defences of the city, although they were afterwards enclosed within the boundary of the city walls, which in this part are tolerably perfect, extending some distance beyond the castle, the intermediate space being now occupied by fields and gardens: the city walls are however of much later character than this castle. There is a peculiarity in the masonry of a part of the walls of Wolvesey deserving of especial notice; in the place of the course of bonding tiles used in Roman work we have here apparently for the same purpose of bonding together the rubble wall, a course of stones long, narrow and round, resembling closely the shafts commonly used in the jambs of doors and windows, placed lengthwise through the wall, their ends being flush with the face of the masonry, as represented in the annexed woodcut.



Portion of the Walls of Wolvesey Castle

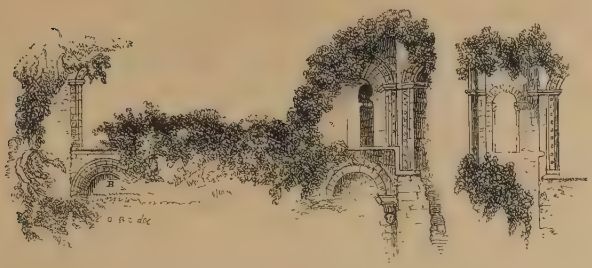
The interior of the castle affords now little more than a very picturesque ruin; but considerable parts of the partition walls remain, and a part apparently of the refectory, in which is a good Norman arch and window: the rest of the walls are in such a ruinous state that their respective uses can hardly be made out. Of the Perpendicular chapel, the exterior of the east end and south side are all that remain perfect, the interior is modernized, and the west end joins on to the modern palace. The work of this chapel is poor, and looks much better as seen over the wall from the meadow than it does on a closer inspection.



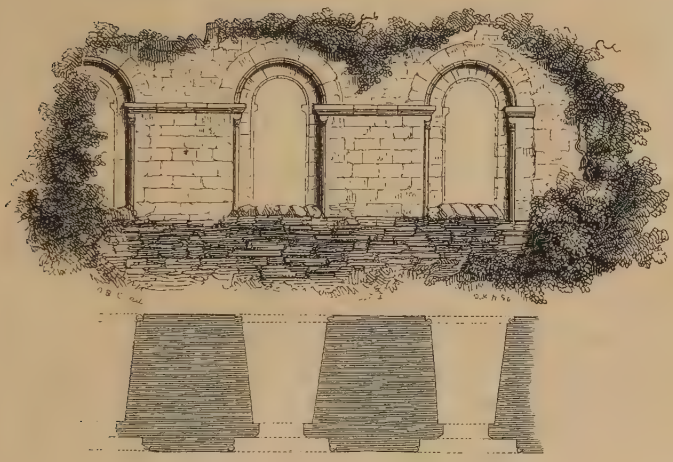
Section of a Window in Wolvesey Castle

PART OF THE RUINS OF WOLVESEY CASTLE.

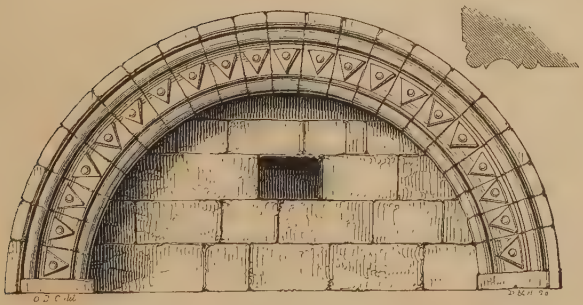
PLAN OF THE REMAINS OF WOLVESEY CASTLE



REMAINS AT *A* ON PLAN, WOLVESEY CASTLE.



REMAINS AT *C* ON PLAN, WOLVESEY CASTLE.



ARCH, WOLVESEY CASTLE.

Hyde Abbey Church and Ruins.—Of this abbey, all that now remains are some portions of the walls, a good gateway, and a few small doorways of the fifteenth century, and some fragments of an earlier period built into the neighbouring walls, amongst which is a good piece of diaper work. A portion of a stone drain, apparently of the twelfth century, leading from the abbey to the river, has recently been uncovered. There are also some stone coffins more or less perfect.

The church of St. Bartholomew adjoining, is said to have been built of fragments from the abbey buildings, and this is probably true in part, as the Early English niche, probably a piscina, built into the exterior of the wall near the south door, and a window of the same period on the north side, which has Perpendicular tracery inserted, do not appear to belong to the places which they now occupy; but the fine Norman south doorway, lately restored, and the lancet trefoil-headed windows in the nave, appear to be in their original positions. The tower may be of the period of the dissolution of the abbey. The chancel has lately been rebuilt. The font is of the thirteenth century, octagon, with shafts, but very plain.

Early English Window, St. Bartholomew

St. Maurice's Church.—A modern church, in imitation of the Early English style, with a good font, and some painted glass. The tower is of the fifteenth century, and has a Norman doorway. There are some remains of a fine Decorated screen, now worked up into an altar rail, and a fine chest of the fifteenth century.

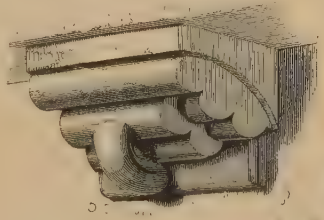
St. Lawrence's Church.—A small plain Perpendicular church, entirely surrounded by houses, and all its original features destroyed, except the east window, and the tower, which may be of the time of Wykeham. The font is square,

with shallow cinquefoiled panels. In the belfry is the parish chest, which is ornamented with the linen panel of the time of Elizabeth.

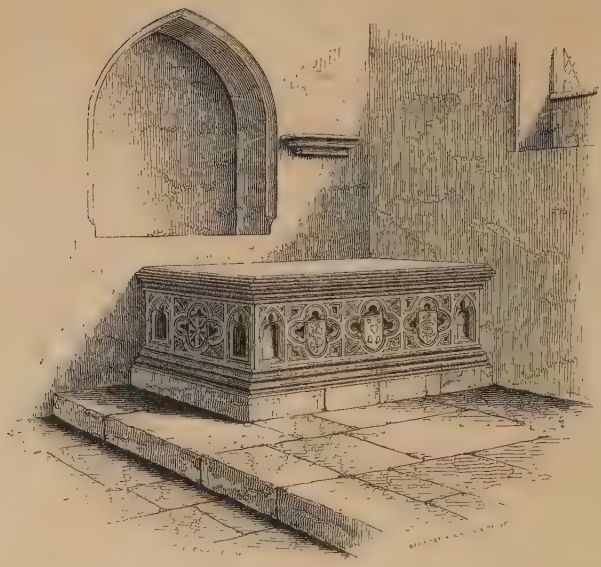
St. John's Chapel is a building of the time of Henry III., with a triple lancet window at the east end, and six single lancet windows on the south side; the two easternmost have trefoil heads. The north wall is blank, having joined on to other buildings. At the west end of this chapel are the St. John's rooms, which are modernized, but the substructure, the walls and roof, are those of the ancient refectory. Built into the wall at the back is a head, which is a good piece of sculpture of the fourteenth century, representing our Saviour with a nimbus and the cross in it. This head is erroneously called that of St. John Baptist in a charger; it was probably the centre of the tracery of a fine window, part of which remains attached to it.

Kingsgate and Little St. Swithin's Church.—The gateway itself is a plain building of the thirteenth century, and on the south side has good mouldings and buttresses. The room over the gateway which forms the present church, has been rebuilt in the sixteenth century, and is of very plain character, with a good octagon panelled font, half of which is built into the wall under the west window. There is also a late niche on the north side. The footways on the sides of the gateway have lately been restored in a manner creditable to the corporation.

St. John's Church.—An interesting church of mixed styles; the arches are of the time of Richard I.—the period of transition from the Norman to the Early English style, and the original corbels of the roof are Early English, shewing the whole of the walls to be of this period, with later insertions. There is no chancel-arch, but a tall Perpendicular screen runs across the nave and aisles, and part of the rood-loft remains with the passage through the walls on both sides. The staircase to the rood-loft is also perfect in a turret on the south side, with doors inside and outside; this turret is an addition of the fifteenth

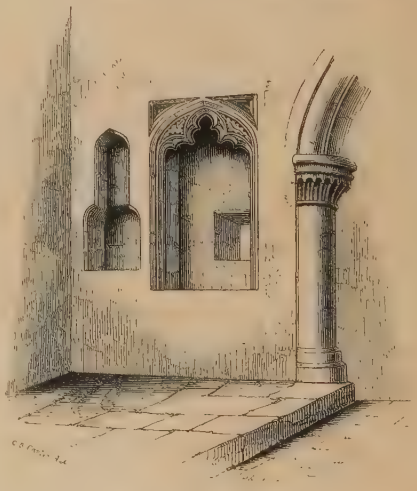


Corbel, St. John's Church.



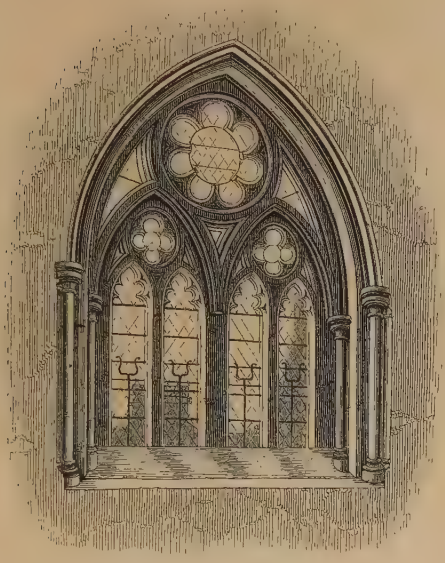
THE EASTER SEPULCHRE IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCH

century, and the outer doorway a still later insertion; there seems to have been a passage through for the priest. The two sides of the chancel are enclosed by wooden screens of the fourteenth century, as clearly shewn by their mouldings, and the banded shafts, which even look at first sight like the work of the thirteenth century. The aisles are unusually wide. At the east end of the north wall is a recess, probably for the Easter sepulchre, and under it a tomb, the sides of which are ornamented by panels, and shields bearing the emblems of the crucifixion; the slab is plain, and has no mark either of figure, brass, or cross upon it.

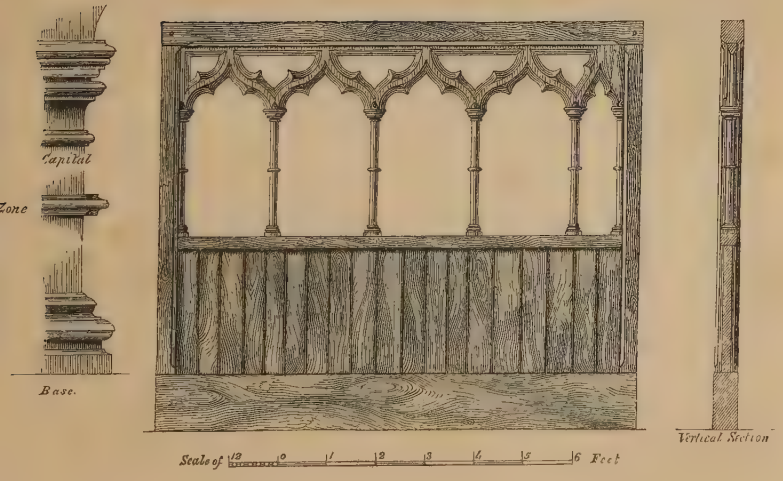


The Sedilia and Piscina, St John's Church.

On each side of the chancel-arch are oblique openings, one from the south aisle towards the altar, the other through the north wall of the chancel, looking towards the Easter sepulchre. In the chancel are a Perpendicular piscina, with a niche of a singular form, a single sedile,

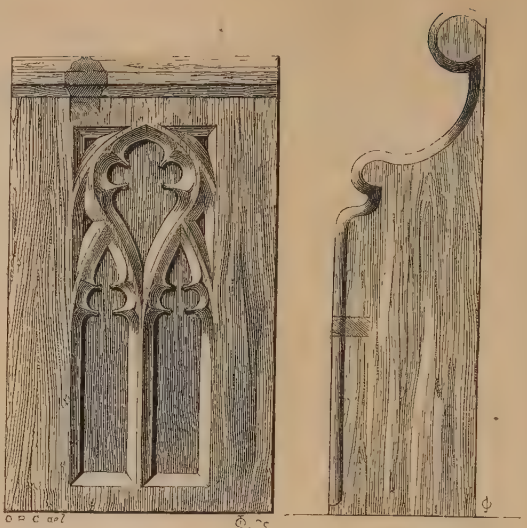


EARLY ENGLISH WINDOW, ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.



DECORATED SCREEN IN ST JOHN'S CHURCH.

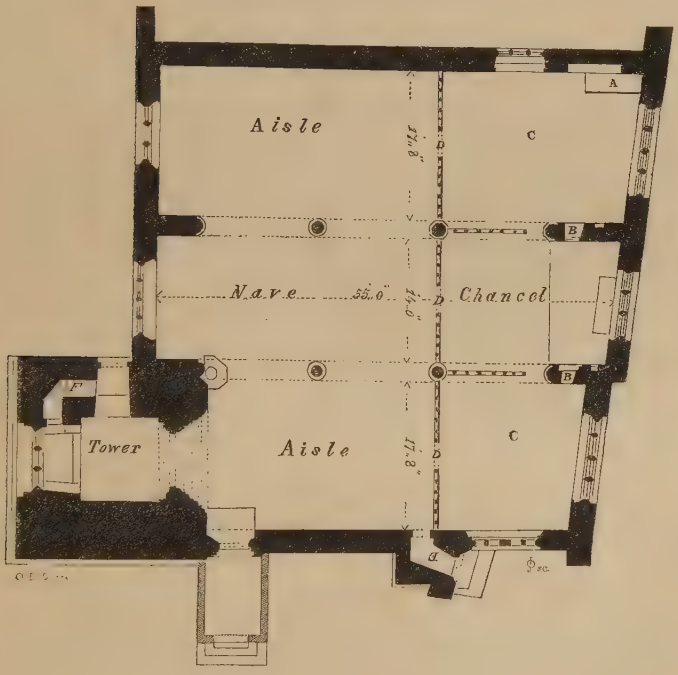
and two good bench-ends, which appear to be also of the fourteenth century. Near the east end of the south wall is a good Early English window of four lights, with a foliated circle in the head, and quatrefoils in the heads of the sub-arches. (See the woodcut on the preceding page.) The font is octagon, panelled: the pulpit of Perpendicular woodwork. The front of the gallery is ornamented with some good old bench-ends. In the south windows are some fragments of good painted glass of the fifteenth century. The tower is at the west end of the south aisle—it is of the fifteenth century, very good, and built chiefly of masses of hard chalk, faced internally as ashlar work, and cased on the outside with flint and stone dressings. The tower-arch is deeply recessed, and has a succession of bold ogee mouldings continuous to the ground.



Bench-ends, St. John's Church.

The west front of this church is remarkably picturesque, from the projection of the tower at the end of the south aisle, an unusual arrangement, which seems to indicate that the tower is altogether an addition to the original design of the church, the walls being Early English, the tower Perpendicular. The plan however appears to have been modified by the site, the east wall following the line of the street. The screens are however carried across in a direct line, so that the irregularity is confined to the chancel and its aisles. The singular arrangement of the squints and the passage through the rood-stair turret, have been already mentioned.

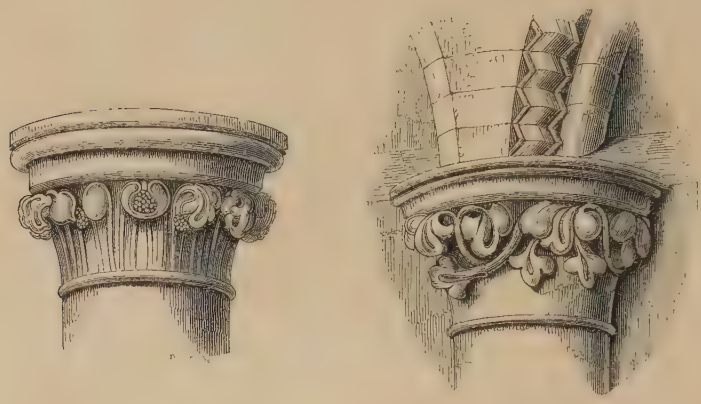
WEST END OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH



PLAN OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.

A. Easter Sepulchre and Altar-tomb.
B B. Squints.
C C. Parcloses.
D D D. Screens.
E. Staircase to Roodloft, now converted into an entrance.
F. Staircase to Belfry.

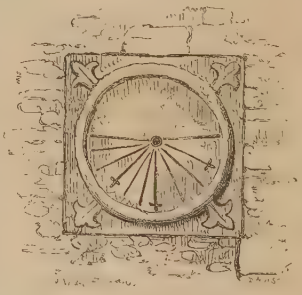
St. Thomas's Church is of the time of Richard I., consisting of a nave, chancel, and south aisle only, the north aisle having been destroyed and the arches walled up, the pillars also remain in the wall with their capitals, which are remarkably good examples of that period; the foliage with which they are orna-



CAPITALS IN ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH

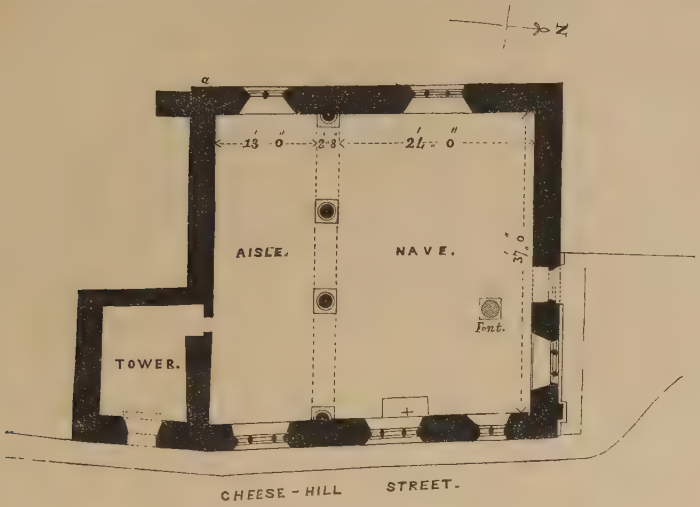
mented is very elegant and free, with more of the character of the work of the thirteenth century, though here used with Norman work. The chancel belongs to a subsequent date, and the windows for the most part are insertions of Perpendicular work. It is much to be regretted that the parish have considered it necessary to destroy this interesting structure. The specimens here engraved will probably soon be the only memorial of its architectural character.

St. Michael's Church.—This church was rebuilt in 1822 in the modern Perpendicular style, the pillars and arches removed as obstructions to the preacher; it is now a square preaching house, with the old church tower preserved at the south-west angle, which is plain Perpendicular work, with the pyramidal tiled roof common in this part of the country. In the wall of this church is preserved a curious ancient sun-dial of the early part of the thirteenth century, as is evident from the character of the foliage at the angles.



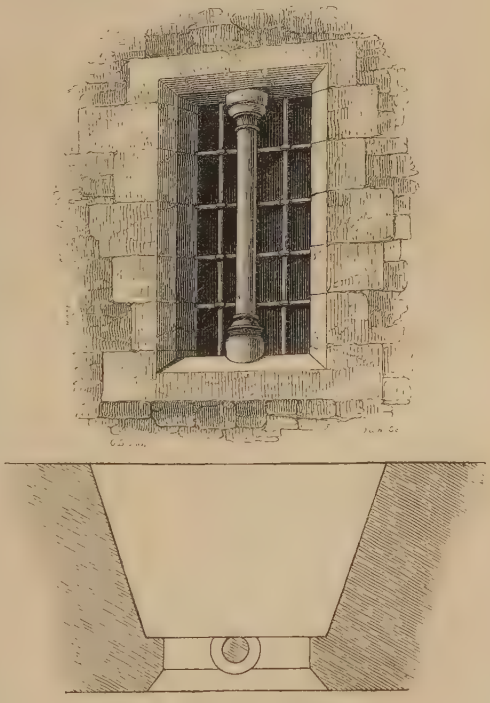
SUN-DIAL OF THE 13TH CENTURY.

St. Peter's, Cheesehill.—A small church of singular ground plan, being nearly as wide as it is long, with no dis-



PLAN OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CHEESEHILL.

tinct chancel, and a south aisle only, which has no side windows; on the north side there is one small Perpendicular window, which is evidently an insertion. The three arches of the south aisle are transition Norman, supported by massive round pillars having moulded capitals. The tower stands at the south-east angle outside of the aisle, the lower part is Norman, and there is a singular window of Early English character in the ringing loft, square on the outside, divided by a shaft, and having

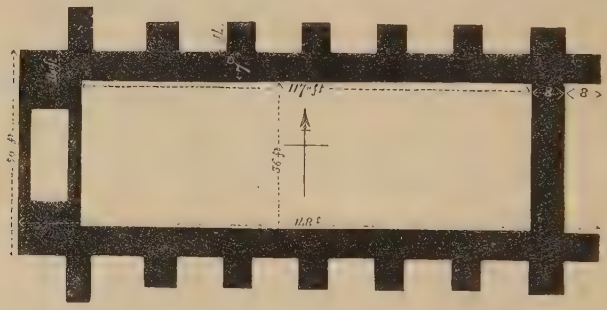


Window in the Tower, with Plan.

a pointed segmental arch within. At the east end of the church are three good Perpendicular windows, and at the end of the aisle two rich niches of the Decorated style, one in the east wall, the other in the south, the material of this is chalk, but the sculpture is particularly good. At the west end are two Decorated windows, and there is a plain Early English doorway in the north wall. The font is late Norman, square, of Petworth marble, with shallow panels and detached shafts. In the east windows are some pieces of painted glass, consisting chiefly of good borders of the fifteenth century. At the west end is a Decorated doorway, now blocked up. On the ridge of the roof are some good open crest-tiles. There are some good early corbels to the roof in the aisle.

In the cellars of some houses near this church are remains of buildings of the thirteenth century, apparently monastic.

St. Elizabeth's College.—In a meadow at the back of the present college, and near to Wolvesey castle, the foundations of St. Elizabeth's College may still be distinctly traced.



PLAN OF THE COLLEGE OF ST. ELIZABETH.

The City Cross is a light and elegant design of the fifteenth century, but the detail has been almost entirely destroyed by injudicious repairs.

CHURCHES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF WINCHESTER.

FIRST EXCURSION.

ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, HEADBOURNE WORTHY.

A very singular little church, of the character supposed to be Saxon, having the pilaster-strips of long and short work, a rude west doorway, and a straight-sided chancel-arch, which may probably be of the time of Edward the Confessor. At the west end there is a very curious though sadly mutilated sculpture, representing the Crucifixion, the figures larger than life, and built into the wall; so that the work must be contemporaneous. This sculpture has evidently been originally external, but in the fifteenth century a chapel has been built against it, divided by a floor, with an altar at the foot of the cross, of which the piscina remains; there is no appearance of a staircase to this upper room, which may possibly have been the dwelling of an anchorite. There are some few good encaustic tiles of the same patterns as at St. Cross. The tower is on the south side, which has a good effect. In this church is a curious little brass of the fifteenth century, of a Winchester scholar in his college dress, the same as now worn. This interesting church has recently been well illustrated by Mr. O. B. Carter, in Weale's Quarterly Papers.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, KING'S WORTHY.

A small church with nothing very remarkable: but the chancel and font are early in the Perpendicular style, time of Richard II., and interesting, as shewing the transition from the Decorated style. There is a stone cross inlaid in a peculiar manner in the flint work at the east end.

ST. SWITHIN'S CHURCH, MARTYR WORTHY.

This church has good Norman doorways on the north and south sides: the rest is modernized. There is a rich coped tomb in the church-yard.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, EASTON.

A very interesting church of the latest Norman or transitional work. The chancel is vaulted, and has an apse; the arches are pointed, and horse-shoed, richly moulded and ornamented. The south doorway is a rich specimen of the period, the shafts have three bands, the arch is round, but the capitals are more of Early English work than Norman. On the ridge of the roof there are some very good and singular crest tiles.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, ITCHEN ABBAS.

A small plain church with Norman doorways, and some curious remains of the staircase and entrance to the roodloft.

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, STOKE CHARITY.

A very interesting church of mixed styles, possessing several good features: a transition Norman doorway: the tower is of wood with a shingle spire; there is a late Decorated window of two lights. On the north side of the chancel is a recess for the Easter sepulchre, richly panelled, with a tomb in it, or perhaps more strictly a fine Perpendicular tomb with a canopy over it, let into the wall, which may have served also for the Easter sepulchre; it has a crest of Tudor flowers and shields of arms in the cornice.

ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH, BISHOP'S SUTTON.

An interesting little church. The nave is Norman, lighted by the original four small windows; the chancel early in the Decorated style, with foliated heads to the windows, some of which are single lights. On the north side of the chancel there is an oblique opening, with a trefoil head, which has the appearance of a locker or ambrie, as there are marks for iron bars; but this has probably been a squint from a vestry now destroyed, to command a view of the altar. There are good Norman doorways remaining on the north and south sides of the nave. The wooden arches, and posts supporting the belfry, are probably of the fifteenth century, having moulded capitals, and good chamfer terminations.

SECOND EXCURSION.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, WEEK, OR WIKE.

A small debased church, with one Early English trefoiled-headed window, and a few old quarries of painted glass in the east window, and a plain Norman doorway: it contains a very singular though late and rudely-executed brass, representing St. Christopher.

The inscription records the dedication of the Church and of the great bell in 1499.

Here lieth will'm Complyn & Annes his wife ye Whiche will'm decessid ye xxj day of mayj ye yere of oure lord mc.c.c.clxxxviiii. Also this be ze dedis yt ze said will'm hath down to this Church of Wike yt is to say frest dedycacion of ye Church xls & to make newe bellis to ye sam Church xl also gabe to ye halloyeng of ye grettest bell bjs. viij.d. & for ye testimonyall' of the dedicacion of ye sam Church bjs viii.d. on whos soules thu haue mercy Amen.

Brass, with figure of St. Christopher, Week Church.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, LITTLETON.

A small Norman church. The north and south doorways are of plain transition work, the windows small round-headed, and one lancet. The chancel-arch is very small, with an opening on each side. There is a transition Norman piscina; the roof of the nave is old, with tie-beams. The font is very good, with detached shafts; the upper part is square, with leaves at the corners, resembling those in the cathedral; it is of Petworth marble, and may be called Early English, but very early in the style—more properly late Norman. In the western gable are the remains of two round-headed openings now walled up, which probably contained bells, as at Ashley in the same neighbourhood.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, CRAWLEY

Has an Early English chancel, with a piscina, having a bracket over it, and another bracket on the north side: the chancel-arch is transition Norman, with a squint on the north side, which has a round basin for a piscina, in the south-west corner of the sill. The nave is modernized, but the aisle windows are good square-headed Perpendicular. The tower is Early English, with a modern top. The font is Perpendicular, octagonal and panelled.

LITTLE SOMBORNE CHURCH.

A small plain Early English church, with a round-headed door, and lancet windows, two of which are square-headed, but well splayed and original. There are no altar rails, but the place usually occupied by the altar at the east end of the chancel is formed into a parlour pew, with a fire-place in it. The church is covered with ivy, which finds its way into the interior. On the north side are the flat pilaster strips for buttresses, similar to Corhampton and Headbourne Worthy.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, ASHLEY.

A small Norman church, with some curious features; most of the original small windows remain—one is round, the others are loops; in the west gable are openings for two bells, round-headed, with Norman imposts; one of them has the original bell remaining in it: this is a very uncommon arrangement, and worthy of particular attention. There is a similar arrangement at Littleton and Corhampton. The chancel-arch is very small, with an opening on each side, more than half as wide as the arch itself. The font is also Norman, square, on a round stem, and has a good square base. One of the bench-ends has the date of 1595, and there is a curious poor's box of the same period.

CHURCH OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL, KING'S SOMBORNE

Has a transition Norman nave and a Decorated chancel; the east window is of three lights, and on the north side is a single light, with a trefoil head, and a sepulchral recess, with an ogee arch, well moulded and foliated, under which is a stone coffin, with a figure in low relief, the head destroyed, but the trefoil canopy remaining; there is an inscription on the edge of the slab—William de Bras, 1186. The roof is carried over both nave and aisles, without any break, and has Elizabethan

tie-beams. The tower is of wood on three sides, but the west wall of it is of stone, with an Early English corbel-table. The font is transition Norman, octagon, with shallow pointed panels; the stem surrounded by clumsy triangular shafts of a singular plan. In the chancel are two small brasses on one slab. The church-yard wall has some original coping.

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, BARTON STACEY.

A good cruciform Early English church, with aisles to the nave, and a Perpendicular tower, having pinnacles, not a usual feature in this part of the country. There is some interesting early screen-work; and the church altogether is well worthy of attention. The coping of the church-yard wall is original, and at one angle is apparently the base of a small cross inserted. The manor and hundred of Barton Stacey were granted by King Henry II. to Emericus de Stacye. There are some remains of military works near this village.

ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH, LONGPARISH.

A very interesting church, and in an unusually good state, having been carefully restored. It is chiefly in the style of transition from Norman to Early English, with early Decorated windows inserted. The windows are filled with modern painted glass, the fittings are very rich, and the reredos recently illuminated. The roof is entirely new, and very successful in effect. The church on the whole reflects great credit on the vicar.

THIRD EXCURSION.

CHILCOMB.

A small plain Norman church, with some later windows, and a wooden bell-cot. The chancel has a very singular east window, two square-headed lights with a quatrefoil over them inserted in the original Norman opening: on the north side is a small loop window, and next the chancel-arch is a Norman low side window; there is an Early English locker in the east wall, and a lancet window on the south side blocked up; the chancel-arch is very small; the doorway and two windows in the nave are quite plain. There are a number of encaustic tiles in the pavement, but mostly common patterns of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; also a stone slab with a cross fleurée.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, OWSLEBURY.

The chancel is of the time of Edward I. or the end of Henry III., with some good Perpendicular panels under the east window, forming the reredos of the altar. The nave has been modernized; the tower is of the same age as the chancel: the font is octagonal, plain, with foot ornaments at the angles, and is probably of the same period.

MARWELL MANOR FARM

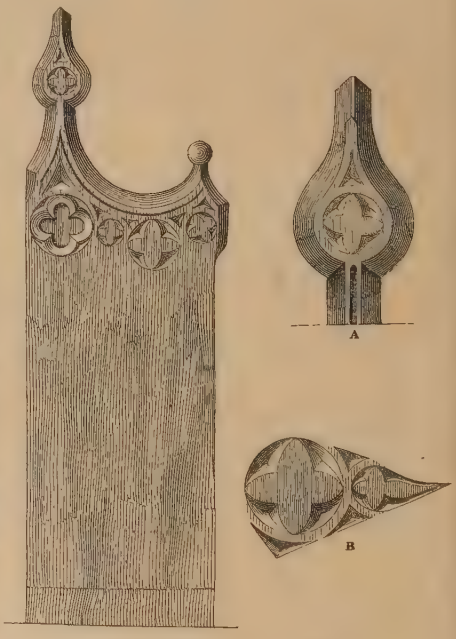
Is said to have been the residence of the bishops of Winchester. Nothing remains but a few plain doorways of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the moat.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, TWYFORD.

A plain church, with aisles, clerestory, and west tower, the upper part of which is of wood. The east window is good Perpendicular, with the heads of a king and a bishop for the terminations of the hoodmould. Over the south door is the date 1660, which is probably that of a considerable part of the church.

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, COMPTON.

A small Norman church, with later insertions, the east window is Decorated, and there are two good brackets of the same style in the east wall; and a transition Norman piscina on a shaft in the south wall; the chancel-arch is early Decorated. The nave has some of the original windows; the north doorway is good rich Norman, with the chevron and lozenge mouldings; the font square and plain, with detached shafts of transition Norman character. There is a curious standard of a desk, apparently of Early English character: but possibly Jacobean, though its appearance would seem to indicate a greater antiquity.



Standard, Compton, with Details

FOURTH EXCURSION.

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, CHERITON.

A fine Early English church and chancel, particularly the latter, which has several of the original lancet windows, single and double, and a piscina of the same style: it is built on sloping ground, and may possibly have a crypt under the altar platform; the east window is a Perpendicular insertion; the chancel-arch is large and lofty Early English, with shafts. The nave has three good arches on each side; the aisle windows are modern and very bad: the tower is also modern, but the arch is transition Norman. The font is quite plain, round, tub-shaped, partly built into a modern brick wall under the tower-arch. The south porch has an Early English outer doorway, but the inner one is modern. On the altar platform are some very good encaustic tiles, mostly common patterns, except two, which are heads.

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, HINTON AMPNER.

The chancel is modern, in imitation of Early English, with some old work, either preserved or faithfully copied; there is a very singular piscina and a low side window. The nave has early Norman doorways north and south, and long and short work at the angles: it belongs to the class supposed to be Saxon. The font is plain Early English.

ST. SIMON AND ST. JUDE, BRAMDEAN.

A small plain church, the nave Norman, with debased windows inserted, but with an early doorway. The chancel is Early English; the arch transition Norman. The whole of the walls and windows of the chancel have lately been coloured, in imitation of the old style of polychrome.

WARNFORD

Has a Norman tower, with the original circular windows, two in each face. The church is also partly Norman, with an inscription recording the dedication, which has long excited the attention of antiquaries.

In the adjoining park are some remains of a hall of the twelfth century, traditionally said to have been a palace of

King John, probably a mistake for a mansion of the St. John family. William, the son of Adam de Port, (who is mentioned in the inscription,) took the name of St. John from his mother, who was grand-daughter and heiress of Roger de St. John. This ruin is well worthy of a careful examination; the pillars are of unusual height, and very curious, two only remain erect.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, TITCHBORNE

Has an early Norman chancel, with good buttresses, and small windows, splayed outside and in. The east window is good Decorated; the tower modern brick, and the aisles modernized. There are some curious memorials of the Tichborne family in their chapel, and some old paintings worthy of notice.

EXCURSION TO PORCHESTER.

The castle is one of the most interesting ruins in England; the walls of enceinte are perfect, and partly Roman: the Norman keep is nearly perfect, and there are considerable remains of buildings of the fifteenth century. For further particulars see Mr. Hartshorne's paper.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, IN PORCHESTER CASTLE.

The church is a fine Norman structure, originally cruciform, but the south transept is destroyed; the west end is particularly good, and there are some singular features in the chancel and north transept, especially a stone bench along the walls, with a sort of canopy over it, without shafts. The font is good and rich Norman, round, with intersecting arcades. For further particulars see Mr. Gunner's paper on the priory of Southwick.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, TITCHFIELD.

A fine church, of mixed styles, with many features of interest: the original parts are Norman, with a rich western doorway, but there are many additions and alterations of subsequent periods. The walls of the chancel are part of the original

work, but pierced with Perpendicular windows, at the east end and on the north side; on the south side of the chancel are good Early English sedilia, with a square label over them, a piscina, a doorway, and two good arches of the same style, opening into a chantry chapel, now shut up for a burial-place of the Southampton family, with a vestry formed at the east end of it: this chapel is good Decorated work, with the piscina and sedilia still existing. In this chapel is the splendid Elizabethan monument of the Lady Jane, countess of Southampton, dec. 1574; her figure, of the natural size, lies on the top of a lofty tomb, with a small figure on a lower shelf on each side of her; it is in good preservation. The south side of the nave is original Norman work, on the north side a very good Perpendicular aisle has been added, which is popularly attributed to William of Wykeham, but is of considerably later date.

TITCHFIELD PLACE HOUSE

Is a valuable specimen of the domestic architecture of the early part of the sixteenth century, formerly the seat of the earls of Southampton.

BOARHUNT CHURCH.

A very interesting little church, of the time of Richard I., lately restored, but most of the original features, of the period of transition from Norman, are preserved, including a piscina, and a good bracket head in the east wall. The chancel-arch is small, and of the character supposed to be Saxon, or closely resembling it. On each side of it is a recess for an altar, with a segmental arch, and in the side wall a recessed half arch, connected with it.

EXCURSION TO SOUTHAMPTON, NETLEY ABBEY, AND BEAULIEU ABBEY.

SOUTHAMPTON.

The walls are late Norman, and part of them quite of transition character; there is an arcade remaining, of which some of the arches are round, others pointed; these arches are an unusual feature in the external fortifications of a tower, and seems to have been introduced here in order to avoid the

necessity of either pulling down or blocking up the windows of houses previously existing, one of which remains, with the walls tolerably perfect, and windows opening under the arches. The remarkably long spaces left between the corbels of the machicolations, to which the attention of the Meeting was called by Dr. Bromet, may have been connected with the same cause, or they may have been, as he suggested, for the purpose of letting down beams to resist the action of the catapult. The Norman house is deserving of particular attention, the whole plan may be made out, and an original fireplace on the first floor, with the chimney, are preserved. There are some remains of another Norman house at the back of the present custom house; this is called the king's palace, but the building was more likely the king's warehouse for goods landed at this port.

The water gate is plain work of the thirteenth century.

DOMUS DEI, OR GOD'S HOUSE.

This is a very interesting specimen of the ancient hospitals or alms-houses, and one of the earliest remaining, being of the end of the twelfth century. There were similar establishments at each of the Cinque ports, as the "Maison Dieu," at Dover, and in other sea-ports. Of the present structure, which is clearly the original one with little alteration, the doorways are round-headed, the windows of a single light, with their heads of the form called the square-headed trefoil. The chapel, now used as the French Church, is transition from Norman, with some very good work of that period, though the windows are modernized externally, which destroys the ancient appearance from the street. The chancel-arch is almost Early English, with very good sculptured capitals; the tower is of the same period, with the original gabled roof.

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.

The tower-arches are Norman, the chancel Perpendicular, the rest of the church either modern, or so much modernized as to have lost all original features. The font is very fine rich Norman work, so closely resembling in the character of the sculpture those in Winchester cathedral, and East Meon church, that there can be little doubt they are all three the work of the same hand, and they are among the finest

Norman fonts that have come down to us; a much higher antiquity has been commonly assigned to them, but there is no good reason to suppose them earlier than the middle of the twelfth century.

HOLY ROOD CHURCH.

The nave is Decorated, with well moulded arches, the chancel is Perpendicular, the rest of the church is modernized. The font is Perpendicular, of the usual character, octagonal and panelled.

NETLEY ABBEY.

This beautiful ruin is more celebrated from its situation and very picturesque form, which tempt the pencil of the artist, than from the richness of the architecture, which, though of very good character, is for the most part remarkably plain. The remains as usual consist chiefly of the walls of the church, but there are also some interesting portions of the domestic buildings. Of the church, the east window is of two lights, with a foliated circle in the head, the arch five times recessed, with the caps and bases of four shafts in each of the jambs, the shafts themselves are gone. The side windows are mostly of two lancet lights, with a common arch within, having Early English shafts in the jambs; some are of three lights with foliated heads, and of later character: the west window has lost its mullions and tracery, but the arch remains. One of the aisles of the transept has a good piece of Early English groining, in which the construction is shewn more clearly than usual.

The remains of the refectory are also good Early English, the windows of two lancet lights, with foliated circles in the head of rather earlier character than those in the church, the arches are richly moulded with the round and fillet, deep hollows, and the scroll moulding. Several rooms among the domestic buildings have good groined vaults, and in one of them is a fine fireplace of the thirteenth century, partly destroyed, but the trusses, part of the shafts, and a bracket remain, the chimney of which is carried up in the thickness of the wall to the corbel-table, and terminates between two of the corbels. In another room is also another fireplace, with a

straight-sided pointed arch, quite plain, the chimney of which is also carried up in the thickness of the wall to the top, but not above. This mode of contriving the chimneys may also be frequently observed in Norman castles. Part of the walls of the domestic buildings of Netley are of brick, with every appearance of being original.

BEAULIEU ABBEY.

The situation of this abbey on the river Ex, in the eastern part of the New Forest, is not less beautiful than that of Netley; though being less easily accessible it is not so generally known. The remains are of considerable interest; the most perfect part is the refectory, now converted into a parish church, and which has very much the same appearance as if it had been built for that purpose, except that it stands north and south; the windows are all of the simple lancet form, and the end window is a very fine triplet; on the west side wall, about the middle of the length, is the beautiful stone pulpit with its staircase and passage in the thickness of the wall, having an elegant open arcade in front; the whole is of Early English character, but late in the style, fast approaching to Decorated.

The other ruins appear to consist of part of the cloisters, the dormitory and the kitchen, and the entrance to the chapter-house, and, at a short distance, the abbot's lodging, now converted into the residence of Lord Montague; the groined room on the ground floor of which is a remarkably good specimen of the kind of entrance hall frequently found in buildings of this class; in the upper rooms is some good wooden panelling of the time of Henry VIII., of the linen pattern, with a sort of fringe to the napkin, which is unusual; the chimneys are very good and picturesque brick work, though chiefly modern imitation.

The abbey was founded by King John, in 1204, and richly endowed.

NOTICES OF THE MINT AND EXCHANGE AT WINCHESTER.

BY EDWARD HAWKINS, ESQ.

The earliest known coins which circulated in Britain, and those probably only in the more southern provinces, were formed upon the model of Greece, and were chiefly of gold. The types of these pieces were imitations, more or less rude, of the money of the kings of Macedonia, modified from time to time according to the skill or taste of different artists. To these succeeded in this island purely Roman money, struck for general circulation throughout all the branches of the empire; these with the decay of the empire declined in character of workmanship and in their intrinsic value. Rude copies, generally esteemed counterfeit, and therefore almost universally rejected from the cabinets of collectors, seem to have supplied the circulation in England after the departure of the Romans, till the little native princes issued those pieces which are now known by the name of skeattæ, and which have not yet been examined with that care and attention which is necessary to enable the antiquary to assign them to any particular locality or person.

The Saxon rule became at length established, and then commenced a coinage bearing the name of the prince by whose authority it was issued, and that of the moneyer to whom he committed the privilege of striking it; and, after some time was added the name of the place where it was minted. There are not any existing records which satisfactorily account for money of the same prince having been issued from so many different places; but it may be conjectured that it was more safe as well as more convenient to transmit dies from the capital, than actual coin to various towns for facilitating circulation in their adjoining districts; and as there was considerable profit attached to the privilege it might be advantageous to the prince to divide his favours amongst his adherents dispersed throughout his little territories. It is supposed that the dies were generally made in the capital, and transmitted to the local mints.

Athelstan appears to have paid great attention to the coinage, and to have issued several mandates for its better regula-

tion, establishing a uniformity of type, and limiting the number of moneyers in each district. In his days Winchester must have been a place of considerable importance, or at least the district of which it was a kind of local capital, must have demanded a more than usual amount of circulating medium, for six moneyers were established in this city, and only eight were required for London. Little information can be obtained from written documents respecting the mint in this city, during the period of Saxon rule, and it is chiefly from the coins themselves, which have been accidentally preserved to the present time, that any conjecture can be formed as to its operations.

In the survey of Winchester in the reign of Henry I. the following names occur of moneyers in the time of Edward the Confessor. *Godwinus Socche*, master moneyer, who held one house of the fee of the bishop of Winchester, *Alwinus Aitardessone*, *Andrebodus*, *Alestanus*, and *Wimundus*, of whom there is indeed no direct mention, but his wife is named as a tenant.

It is remarkable that no notice of a mint in this city occurs in Domesday book, although the coins both of William I. and Rufus, still existing, prove that the operations which had been conducted under the Saxon monarchs were still continued. The coins of these Norman sovereigns were formerly very rare, but the disinterment of a large hoard at Beaworth, and, more recently, of another at York, has rendered some types of them more common; and in the former of these we find the name of Winchester occurring much more frequently than that of any other town.

In the second year of Henry I., 1102, the mint at Winchester was destroyed by a fire, which consumed at the same time the royal palace and a considerable portion of the town; it was however probably rebuilt without much delay, and conducted with its former activity, for in the twenty-fifth year of this king Winchester was the place where all the moneyers of England were summoned to appear, that the frauds which had been committed in debasing the coin might be investigated. The result disclosed a very general system of fraud, and the punishment of mutilation of the person and loss of the right hand was inflicted upon every one of these officers except three; to the honour of Winchester it is to be recorded, that the three, whose integrity was established, were all moneyers attached to the mint of this city.

In the time of Athelstan, there were, as we have seen, six mints in Winchester; in the survey taken in the reign of Henry I. it is stated, there were in the market-place five mints, which were abolished by the king's order, "*in mercato fuerunt* V. *monete, que sunt diffacte precepto regis.*" As there is not any reason to suppose that all coinage at Winchester was suspended at this time, it is to be concluded that those mints only were abolished which were situated in the market-place; and it is probable that arrangements were made for conducting all the Winchester coinage at one mint; for, in subsequent documents, when reference is made to this city, the term used is "the mint," "the mint-house," in the singular number.

From the before-mentioned survey it appears that the monks of St. Swithin held of the fee of the bishop the same house which Godwin, as master moneyer, had held in the time of the Confessor, that they rendered suit, and paid 37s. Ruding, by a slight inadvertency, misinterpreted the passage, and supposed the monks to have held this house from Godwin Socche himself, who however had been only a tenant, and must have been dead some years before the survey was made. The monks of St. Swithin probably became tenants of the bishop when the premises were no longer wanted, in consequence of the diminished number of mints.

In the reign of Stephen, money was coined in Winchester, and in the survey made by Henry, bishop of Winchester, in 1148, Sanson and Siward are mentioned as moneyers.

In the seventh year of Henry II., 1160, the sheriff of Hampshire, in accounting for the farm of Winchester, "renders account of 20*l.* for the mint or moneyers of Winchester;" and in the account of the same sheriff, under the head of Winchester, 13 Henry II., it appears that "Herbert, the son of Westman, and the other moneyers, render account of 100s. of amerciament, because they worked together in one house."

The following year the same sheriff renders account of money received as the "aid of the moneyers of Winchester," amounting to 106s. 8d.

In the twenty-sixth year of Henry II., 1179, the Winchester moneyers appear to have been employed to coin money out of their own district; for we find that the chest with the dies of the moneyers was conveyed from Winchester first to Oxford, then to Northampton, and brought back to Winchester; and

that 7s. 10d. was paid to cover all the expenses of conveyance.

In the night of July 14, (the eve of St. Swithin,) 1180, the 27th year of Henry II., while the workmen were employed on the new coinage, which was ordered to be issued this year, a fire broke out, by which the mint was consumed, and with it the better part of the city. It must have been speedily rebuilt, for it appears that in the next year 37*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* was allowed to the citizens of Winchester, for works done in the house of the mint; and, in the Pipe roll 29 Henry II., it is stated that 48s. 4d. were expended in the works of the mint-house, by the king's writ. This mint-house, the only one allowed to remain when five were suppressed by Henry I., was situated, in all probability, near the west gate. In this same year, 1180, the citizens of Winchester had an allowance in their fee farm rent of 80s., in default of eight moneyers, and it is not improbable that this compensation was made at the time and in reference to the order then made for the issue of a new coinage. In the following and some succeeding years, certainly as late as 1186, the allowance was reduced to 50s. for five moneyers, the number which had been suppressed by Henry I.

In the 30th and 31st of Henry II. the sheriff of Southampton "rendered account of four marks for a certain house in the city of Winchester, where the moneyers work," with the remark that "Osbert, the moneyer of Wilton, owes two marks of the service of the same house." Is it to be inferred from this that the money of the Wilton mint was struck at Winchester, and these two marks were rent for the use of the premises?

From these minutes, and from others recited below which have reference to the exchange at Winchester, it would appear that although the mint was still in operation in this city, it was not adequate thereto, or it was not deemed advisable to employ it, for the converting into coin of all the bullion received at the exchange, but that considerable supplies were despatched from thence for the supply of other mints.

In the reign of Richard I. a charter was granted to the citizens of Winchester by this monarch, in his first year, wherein mention is made of moneyers, and certain privileges granted to them; but no coins of his reign, from this or any other mint, are now known. Throughout this reign the same allowance of 50s. in default of five moneyers, which had been made to

the citizens of Winchester, in the reign of Henry II. was continued annually by Richard I., and during the same period the sheriff continued to render account of "four marks for the house in the city where the moneyers work."

Of John no coins are known, though remaining records shew that the mint establishment existed, and was probably in operation, for in his ninth year (1207) he granted or rather confirmed to Winchester for ever a mint and an exchange, with all the rights and privileges usually belonging to such establishments, and at the same time he confirmed to the merchants' guild peculiar privileges, which are stated in the charter to have been before granted by Richard I. In the same year the moneyers of fourteen of the principal mints of the kingdom were summoned to attend the king at Westminster on the quinzime of St. Denys, bringing with them their dies, sealed up with their own seals. The moneyers of Winchester were included in this summons, but of its object and the result of the meeting no record remains. The writ for Winchester runs thus :—

A.D. 1207[a], 9th of John. "The king to all the moneyers and examiners of money and keepers of the dies of Winchester, greeting. We command you, as you love yourselves and goods, that immediately on sight of these letters you do seal with your seals all your dies, and be with them at Westminster within fifteen days from the morrow of St. Denis, to hear our commands; and make known unto all the workers of money of your city, and unto those who can give advice in making money, that they be then there with you, and have there these letters. Witness, the Lord Peter, Bishop of Winchester, at Westminster, 7th October."

In the 17th of John (1215) the following writ appears on the Close Roll :—"The king to the mayor of Winchester. We order you to let William de Pavilly have possession of the mint at Winchester, as we have granted it to him during our pleasure. Witness, the king, at Winchester, 3d of June."

On the 9th of July, in the same year, the rent of the mint was assigned to the same William de Pavilly, and by a subsequent writ, dated August 13, in the same year, it appears that this rent was nine marks, i. e. 6*l.* sterling. This was the rent which the corporation had been in the habit of paying to the crown for the one mint which remained after the suppression of the five mints in the market-place, by Henry I. It does

[a] The above is the *right* date of this writ, which is wrongly assigned to 1208 in Ruding, last ed.

not appear whether this sum was merely the rent of the premises, or whether it did not include the acknowledgment required for the privilege of coining. It seems probable that the payment was for rent only, although in that case the premises must have been very extensive, and that the grant to William de Pavilly was merely a pecuniary gift or equivalent to it, and did not convey to him any privileges, or right of interfering with the operations of the mint; for records and coins both testify that the mint of Winchester was in full work down to a much later period.

In the 32nd year of the reign of Henry III. (1248) orders were directed to Winchester, to issue a new coinage, the current coin having by wear and clipping become exceedingly deteriorated, and after the octaves of the Epiphany in that year the new money was issued.

It would appear that though the election of mint officers was vested in the mayor and corporation, the appointment was not final, for in 1249 Peter Delviday, who had been nominated assayer in the Winchester mint, by the corporation, was obliged to take an oath of office in the Court of Exchequer, before he could be admitted.

In the year 1247 the citizens undertook to give 60s. that the Drapery might be removed from the mint into the High Street; but it appears that as late as the 12th year of Edward IV. this sum was not paid. After the time of Henry III. no mention is made of the mint at Winchester, nor does its name occur upon the coins of any subsequent reign.

For the purpose of facilitating the operations of the mints, by supplying them with bullion, and circulating the new coinage throughout various districts, exchanges were established in various places, and they were invested with peculiar privileges. They had a monopoly of all dealings in bullion; to them was brought all plate, bullion or foreign coin for melting and exchanging, nor could any precious metals or coin be imported or exported but through their medium. One of these was certainly established at Winchester, but at what time, how long it existed, in what manner, or by what persons it was conducted, very little is known. Though Ruding mentions the grant of an exchange by King John, it does not seem to have been known to him that any such establishment was ever in active operation in this city. Its existence, however, is ascertained by the mention of it in some still remain-

ing documents, from which it would appear that its relative importance was great and its operations extensive, for we find many distant mints supplied by it with bullion and treasure for their coinages.

In the 26th of Henry II. the sheriff of Southampton had several allowances made to him on account of expenses evidently incurred in the operations of the exchange at Winchester, viz. :—

"For the hire of carts and purchase of barrels for the treasure which was sent to London to make new money, 27s."

"And also for the hire of carts to carry treasure to Oxford, to be sent to the moneyers of York, 19s. 6d."

"And in the carriage of the treasure sent to Northampton to make money, 13s."

"And in the carriage of the treasure sent to Exeter to make money, 14s."

"And for furnaces, and crucibles, and linen cloth, and wax, and small necessaries, for the assay of the silver to be delivered to the moneyers of England, 32s."

"And for taking the treasure chest to London, 3s. And for taking another chest to Woodstock with treasure, 3s."

It is possible that this last entry referred simply to charges incurred in the removal of the king's own treasure from one royal residence to another.

"And in the liveries of Brun Burdin and Mansell the exchangers, from the feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist to the Octaves of St. Michael, 53s. 4d."

"And for one iron-bound chest for the king's exchange, 7s. 6d."

In the 27th of Henry II. the sheriff of Southampton, accounting for the farm of Winchester, was allowed the following expenses :—

"And to Walter Fitz Gerold and Rolland, the king's exchangers at Winchester, 10*l.* 2s. 8d. For their liveries for 152 days, to each 8d. per day. And to one of them, 113s. 4d., from Easter close to the feast of St. Michael."

"And for the hire of houses, and in the small necessaries of the exchange, 58s."

The same sheriff is allowed in the farm of the county of Southampton, in the same year, "for taking the king's gold from London to Winchester, 3s." This, however, again was probably a charge relating to the royal establishment, not to the mint or exchange.

In the 28th of Henry II. the sheriff, in accounting for the farm of the city of Winchester, is allowed,

"In the livery of Rolland the exchanger for the whole year, 12*l.* 3s. 4d."

"And to the same 2 marks, for the hire of the house of the exchange and his own dwelling."

"And in the cost and conduct of William Fitz Herbert, the assayer of Canterbury from Winchester to London, 7s."

In the 32nd of Henry II. the sheriff of the county of Southampton claims allowance for "the livery of Rolland the exchanger of Winchester, for the quarter of a year before he quitted, 60s. 10d."

In the 6th of Richard I. account is rendered of 20 marks for the farm of the exchange of Winchester; and in the following year, "Richard the melter, and William the moneyer, render account of 80 marks for the farm of the exchange of Winchester."

From the above entries there cannot be any doubt that an exchange was established in the ancient city of Winchester, and that its operations were important and extensive.

It must be acknowledged and lamented that the notices which still exist respecting the mint and exchange in this city are so scanty; many of them have already been made known by the valuable work of Mr. Ruding; but for much that is new and important we are indebted to the researches of our secretary, Mr. T. Hudson Turner.

The following list presents the names of all the moneyers of Winchester which are now known, arranged under the reigns of the princes in whose times they exercised their calling. I have given every variation in the orthography of their own names, and of the mode in which they indicated the name of this city. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the Saxon W resembled in form the modern P.

LIST OF MONEYERS.

Æthelstan	AMELRIC	MO	VVINLI	Hawkins, 186
	ÆÐELM	MO	VVINLI	,,
Eadwig	MANN LOD	MO	PIN.	Ruding, xx. 2—
Eadgar	MARSLALE	MO	PINT.	Hawkins, 200
	PYNSIGE	MONETA	PINTO	Ruding, xxi. 20
	EATSTAN	MO	PINTO	,,
	PYNSTAN	MO	PINT	,,
Eadweard II.	PINTSILE	MO	PINT	Hawkins, 202
	PYNSILE	MO	PINT	,,
Æthelred II.	LYNNAM.	MO	PINT.	,, 203
	LODPINE	MO	PINT.	,, 207
	ÆLFSILE	ON	PINCST	,, 205
	ORDBRIHT	ON	PINLSR	,,
	PYNSTAN	MO	PIN.	,, 204
	ÆLFSILE	MO	PINTO	,, 206
	BEORNNOÐ	MO	PINT	,,
	———	——	PINTO	,,
	LEOFPOLD	MO	PINT.	,, 204
	EADSIGE	MO	RINTO (sic)	,, 206
	FRIÐEMVND	MO	PIN	,,
	INLELRI	MO	PINT	,,
	PVLFSTAN	MO	PIN	,,
Cnut.	LODPINE LAS	ON	PI	,, 208
	LEODMER	ON	PIN	,,
	LEODMÆR	——	PINL	,,
	SPILTMAN	ON	PIN	,,
	PVLNOÐ	ON	PINL	,,
	ALFPOLD	ON	PI	,, 212
	ÆLFRIC	ON	PINCSTR	,,
	ELFSIGE	ON	PINLST	,,
	LEOFSVNV	ON	PINLS	
	ODA	ON	PINLSTR	,,
	PINTSIGE	ON	PINLST	,,
	DROPA	ON	PINLL	,,
	PVLBERE	MO	PINL	,, 213
	ÆÐESTAN	ON	PIN	,,
	PULNOÐ	ON	PINLES	,,
Harold I.	ELFINE	ON	PINL	,, 214
Harthacnut	ÆLFPINE	ON	PILE	,, 216
Edw. Conf.	LIOFINL	ON	PINLEST	,, 219
	ANDERBODA[a]	ON	PINLE	,, 228
	LODPINE DIDIA	ON	PIN	,, 227
	LIFINC	ON	PINLEL	,, 220
	SPRALELINL	ON	PIN	,, 223
	SPRALALNG	ON	PI	,, 225
	SPEARTING	ON	PI	Ruding, xxiv. 11

[a] The name of Andrebodus Monetarius occurs in the Winton Domesday as one of Edward the Confessor's tenants on the royal demesne at Winchester.

	BRUN	ON	PINL	Hawkins, 229
	EDPIE	ON	PIN	„
	ÆSTAN	ON	PIH	„
	ELFSTAN	ON	PIN	„
	LODPINE	ON	PINE	„
	LEOFPINE	ON	PIN	„
	LEOFSTAN	ON	PI	„ 226
Harold II.	LEOFPOLD	ON	PIN	„ 230
	SPEARTING	ON	PI	„
	EASTNER	ON	PIN	„
W. Conq. or Rufus	ÆGSTAN	ON	PINL	„ 239
	ÆSTAN	ON	PINL	„ 243, 241
	——	ON	PNLE	„ 241
	——	ON	PINLE	„ 241
	——	ON	PINLI	„ 241
	——	——	PNLE	„ 241,240
	BRVNIL	ON	PINL	„ 241
	——	——	PINLI	„ 239
	LODPIE	ON	PINLE	„ 241
	LODPINE	ON	PLI	„ 238
	——	——	PLL	„ 241
	——	ON	PIN	„ 247, 241
	——	ON	PINL	239,243, 241, 238
	——	ON	PINLE	„ 244,241
	——	ON	PNL	„ 241
	——	ON	PINLI	„ 243
	——	ON	PINLL	„
	GOLDPINE	ON	PINL	„ 241
	——	——	PINLE	„ 241
	GOPINE	ON	PINLE	„ 241
	LIFPOLF	ON	PINL	„ 241
	LIFIL	ON	PINLSTI	„ 241
	LIFINL	ON	PINLE	„ 241
	——	ON	PINLI	„ 241
	——	——	PINLSI	„ 243
	LIEFPOLD	ON	PINL	„ 241
	LIFPOD	ON	PINLE	„ 241
	——	ON	PINCI	„ 241
	LIFPOLD	ON	PINL	„ 241, 240
	——	ON	PINLE	„ 241
	——	ON	PINLI	„ 241
	LIOFPOLD	ON	PINL	„ 241
	LIOFPOD	——	PINL	„ 239
	LIVFPOLD	ON	PINL	„ 241
	SIPORD	ON	PINL	„ 241
	——	ON	PINLE	„ 241
	SIPRD	ON	PNLE	„
	SIPPORD	ON	PINLI	„ 241
	——	——	PNLE	„ 238
	SPRAL LINL	ON	PINL	„ 241
	——	ON	PNL	„ 241
	SPRÆLLINL	ON	PINL	„ 241
	PIMVND	ON	PLI	„ 241
	——	ON	PINL	„ 241

	PVLMÆR	ON	PINL	„ 241
	ÆLSTAN	ON	PINL	„
	ANDRBOD	ON	PIL	„ 243
	ANDERBOD	ON	PNL	„ 243
	ÆSTÆN	ON	PNLST	„ 243
	LEOFPOLD	ON	PINL	„
	———	ON	PINEE	„ 237
	ANDRBD	ON	PINL	„ 238
	ANDIRBOD	ON	PIN	„ 238
	GODPINE	ON	PNLSI	„ 238
	GODPNE	ON	PNLEI	„ 238
	LFNL	ON	PINLESR.	„ 238
	ANDERBON PA	ON	P	„ 233
	ANDRBO PA	ON	PL	„
	LEOFPOLD	ON	PNL	„ 243
	———	——	PINL	„
	LIVINL	ON	PINLE	„ 237
	ANDERBORN	ON	PILL	„ 238
	GOLDPINE	ON	PIN	„ 238
	LIFIL	ON	PINLESI	„ 238
	SIGVERIÐ	ON	PIL	„ 265
Henry I.[b]	.....ANDVS	ON	PILES	„ 262
	.....ABN	ON	PIN	„ 255
	SAINT	ON	PINLEST	„ 270
Stephen	PILLEM	ON	P	„ 285
Henry II.	HERBERT	ON	WI	„
	HERBERT	ON	PIN	„
	———	ON	PINL	„
	———	ON	PINLS	„
	RILARD	ON	WIN	„
	———	——	PINCE	„
	———	——	WINLS	„
	———	——	PINLEST	„
	...SBERT	ON	WI	„ 286
Henry III.	ADAM	ON	WIN	„
	———	——	WINL	„
	ANDREW	ON	WI	„
	BARTELME	ON	W	„
	CLEMENT	ON	WIN.WINC	„
	GOCELM	ON	WI	„
	———	——	WINL	„
	IOHAN	——	WINL	„
	LVKAS	——	WINL	„
	MILES	——	WINL	„
	———	——	WINCE	„
	OSBER	——	WINC	„
	REINIER	——	WINC	„
	RODBERT	——	WIN.	„ 287
	HVGE	——	WINCHE	„
	WILLEM	——	WINC	„
	NICOLE	——	WINC	„

[b] The survey made in the time of Henry I. Alwinvs Aitardessone, Godwinus Socche, Master Moneyer, Winandvs, Andrebodvs Alestanvs, are named as moneyers. The name of Winandus is not directly mentioned, but incidentally when his wife is named as a tenant.

ON THE HALL AND ROUND TABLE AT WINCHESTER.

BY EDWARD SMIRKE, ESQ.

Elevation of one Bay. Exterior

The late Dr. Milner, whose History of Winchester forms the basis of the modern guide books and topographical accounts of that city, has stated as a fact respecting which no doubt was entertained, that the hall now used for assizes and sessions is an ancient church or chapel. The substance of his statement on this subject is the following—(see vol. ii. pp. 171, 172, fourth edition):

That the building is a chapel of St. Stephen, which, from the style and materials of the outside work and from its being built without great east or west windows, and by other tokens, appears to have been erected by the king of that name:

That the inside was probably altered in the reign of Edw. III., and consists of a nave and side aisles:

That the same king (Stephen), whom he calls the "real

founder or great improver" of the castle, made the table now hanging in the nisi prius court.

Dr. Milner was certainly not the original author of this opinion. It is stated with equal confidence in a previous history of the city ascribed to Warton, who adds that this was "always a detached building;" and the opinion is adopted by Grose, in his Antiquities, &c. vol. viii. These writers rely on Trussell, an alderman of this city, whose MS. history of Winchester is mentioned in Wood's Athenæ and in Gough's Topography, and was in the possession of the late Mr. Duthy, a magistrate of the county of Hants. Trussell's history I have never seen, so that I cannot say to what extent the worthy alderman can be fairly vouched as an authority for the proposition.

Misled by an opinion so long current and uncontradicted, a correspondent of a respectable journal[a] has expressed strong feelings of regret at the continued desecration of the building for secular purposes.

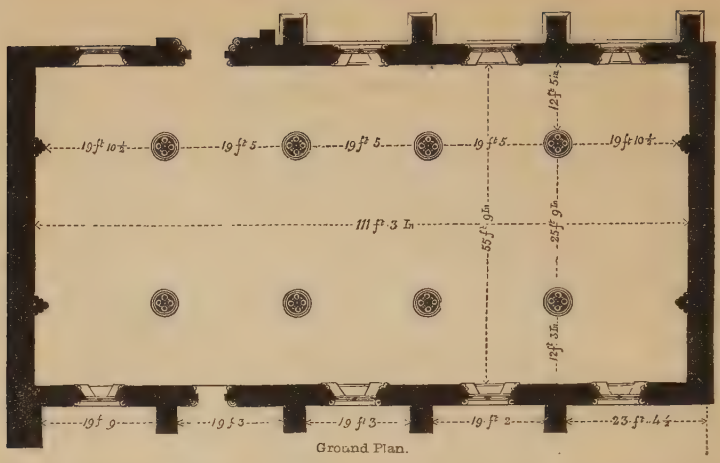
It might perhaps be thought a reasonable reply to such a complaint, that, where a building has been undeniably applied exclusively to secular uses for about 300 years, it is a somewhat tardy display of indignation to denounce the magistrates of Hants for a sacrilege which the crown and county have unconsciously united in committing for so long a period. There ought surely to be some limitation, moral as well as legal, to dormant claims, even of the Church.

It will however be a source of satisfaction to such objectors, and of rational interest to others, to know that no proof has ever yet been adduced that this structure (almost the only surviving relic of the ancient castle of Winchester) was destined, or has ever been applied, to religious uses.

Without resorting to historical or other extrinsic evidence, an attentive observer, who brings to the examination of the building an eye moderately conversant with our early architecture, will easily convince himself that it never was designed for a church or chapel, and that the plan, arrangement, and finishings, within and without, all announce it to have been, from the first, a hall[b]. (See woodcut of Plan, next page.)

[a] The English Churchman, Oct. 12, 1843.

[b] For illustrations of this paper we are indebted to the very accurate and instructive drawings of Mr. Carter, of Winchester, under whose care the front of the hall is undergoing such restoration as the public convenience and present internal arrangements will permit.



Ground Plan.

The arrangement of it, as a church, would indeed be most abnormal. It was originally lighted by three long transomed windows on each side towards the west end, reaching to within a short distance of the pavement, and internally furnished with stone seats of a form and construction very familiar in ancient halls, but to which we shall not easily find a parallel in a church. The heads and mullions of these windows have a good deal of resemblance to those of the windows in one of the principal apartments in the palace at Wells.

Elevation of one Bay: Interior.

The larger lights in them shew no signs of any fixed glazing, but the hooks for hinges, still remaining, indicate that either shutters or moveable glazed frames supplied the place of fixed glass. It is well known that such moveable frames were used in domestic architecture, and a learned member of this asso-

ciation, Mr. Twopeny, has founded upon this usage a successful explanation of the old law of fixtures relating to windows, which treated them as moveables belonging, not to the heir of the deceased owner as part of the freehold, but to his executor. That the windows were provided with "verrinæ," or glazed frames, in some form, will sufficiently appear from the accounts which I shall hereafter refer to; but that they were designed for permanent frames or fixed glass, as in all other church windows, is very improbable[c].

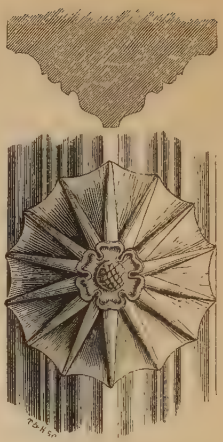
The windows in the side walls towards the east end of the building, where we expect, in a church of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, to find lights if not as large at least as decorated as the western ones, are here comparatively small, simple, and irregularly disposed.

The only old doors in the building (for the present one on the north side is very recent[d]) were placed in the north and south walls towards the east end in such a position, that, if we suppose a reasonable portion of it appropriated as a chancel or choir, the only entrances into the church must have opened upon that part of it, and not upon the nave. Indeed the whole arrangement of the doors and windows accommodates itself extremely well to the theory of a hall with its attached offices, but is hardly reconcilable with any ordinary disposition of a church or chapel.

Elevation of Inside of South Door, with section of Archivolt Mouldings.

[c] Some other peculiarities in the construction of the hall and its members, which distinguish it from a church, are pointed out in a letter addressed by a magistrate of the county to the editor of the journal in which the above complaint was made, (See Dec. 7, 1843.) He is of opinion that shutters alone were used in these windows, except in the upper quatrefoil, which was glazed. This conjecture derives some support from a fact mentioned by Ray in his Itinerary, that in his time (A.D. 1661) he found only the upper part of the windows even in the royal palaces, in Scotland, glazed, the lower having two wooden shutters to open at pleasure and admit the air. I am indebted for this notice to Sir John Cullum's History of Hawstead, p. 242, ed. 1813. My friend Sir John Awdry informs me, that the windows of the hall at Ludlow castle present similar features.

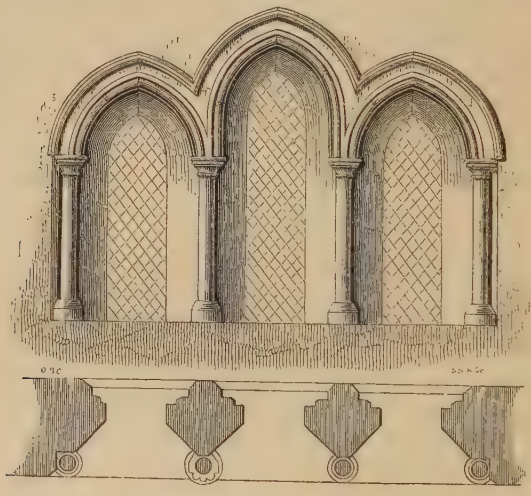
[d] In Grose's Antiquities, and in Warner's Collections, &c. the north door is represented in its original and proper position.



Boss in the Roof.

It is observable that throughout the building none of the brackets, bosses, or other sculptured portions of the interior, either of stone or wood, indicate any subject, or assume any form, that can be regarded as appropriate to an ecclesiastical structure. The latest characteristic badge or cognizance now visible in the pointed work is the radiated rose of Edw. IV., which occurs in the arched timbers of the roof.

On the absence of any considerable light at the east or west ends of the hall, I lay no stress; not because I assent to the opinion of Dr. Milner, that such windows are not to be expected in churches of the early date assigned to this structure, but because the exigencies of a fortified palace might here, as in the tower of London and other instances, make a departure from the ordinary practice convenient and necessary: for I



Window at the West end of the Hall

think it tolerably clear, as well from existing appearances as from the slight sketches of the castle that have been preserved to us, that this hall or chapel never was (as we have seen it above described to have "always" been) a "detached building."

The internal division into a central and two side aisles has given colour to the opinion that the building must have originally had an ecclesiastical dedication. But an experienced observer will not require to be reminded of the hall at Oakham, and the beautiful Salle des Chevaliers at Mont St. Michel. Other examples will readily occur to the memory of most of us: indeed there are grounds for believing that the roof of the great hall at Westminster was originally supported by similar ranges of piers; an arrangement long ago suspected by the late Mr. Rickman of the House of Commons.

A Cap and Base of Columns.
B. Cap of Responds.
C Plan of Responds.

Section above Cap.

Plan of Column.

The conclusion, to which a mere survey of the building leads us, is confirmed by other considerations of a negative character.

I know of no instance, and shall be much surprised to find one, of so magnificent and spacious a chapel attached to any of our ancient castles or palaces except in connection with some conventual or collegiate establishment. The castle of Windsor and the palace of Westminster had their canons with all necessary and suitable buildings and ample endowments, spiritual and temporal: even the chapel of Exeter castle had its prebends and appropriated revenues; but no establishment of this kind has been found at Winchester castle.

History is silent: neither Tanner, nor Dugdale, nor his late editors, notice any. Dr. Milner has printed from the registers of bishop de Pontissara, and other bishops, a list of all the churches and chapels recorded to have existed at any time in the city or its suburbs; yet he finds here no ecclesiastical foundation attached to the castle, and he is therefore reduced to the necessity of finding a place for the imaginary chapel of St. Stephen in a separate list of churches, "known" (as he says) "to have existed," but of the existence of which he has given no proof at all. It is indeed a remarkable circumstance that at the dissolution of monasteries not even a chantry appears in the ministers' accounts or chantry rolls as connected with any chapel or ecclesiastical foundation in the ancient castle of Winchester.

The fact is, that from the reign of Henry II., inclusive, to the end of that of Henry III., we find only four chapels belonging to the castle, which are specially designated by the names of their respective patron saints in contemporaneous records. In the earlier records during this period the chapels of St. Mary, St. Judoc, and St. Thomas the Martyr, are named. In 39 Henry III. (A.D. 1254-5.) the chapel of St. Katherine is also mentioned. The subjoined extracts from the Chancellor's and Pipe rolls shew that the "capella beatæ Mariæ" was the largest of these, and was sometimes called the "magna capella." In 21 Henry III. (A.D. 1236-7.) the chapel of St. Judocus was partially rebuilt by converting the old circular apsis of the chancel (probably a Norman work) into a square one, raising the roof, inserting "pulchras fenestras," (no doubt Early English ones), and forming there two chapels or oratories, one for the queen and another for the rest of the king's household. Chapels of the king and queen are occasionally noticed distinctly from the others, but they were evidently oratories for private devotion. Whether they were in fact only portions of the above-named chapels, or were annexed to the private apartments of the palace, is not very clear nor very important. When the parliament assembled at Winchester in 1392, the committees called the "Triers of petitions" sat in the chapels of the Middle chamber, and of the Withdrawing chamber. (See Rot. Parl., vol. iii. p. 300.)

The chaplains of St. Mary and St. Thomas received each fifty shillings per annum; a payment which was made, like other "eleemosynæ constitutæ" or regular alms, out of monies

in the sheriff's hands. The other two chaplains also received small salaries or stipends. The chaplain of St. Judoc was sometimes paid by the citizens, who were then allowed to deduct the payment out of their fee-farm rent.

Now, although extra payments to other clerks do occasionally appear in the accounts, it must be obvious that there was not within the castle of Winton any thing like a staff or establishment of clergy at all corresponding with such a structure as the supposed chapel of St. Stephen. There was, in fact, only one chaplain, with a precarious stipend, serving each of the above chapels.

The facts already stated serve to shew the very insufficient grounds on which the hall of Winchester castle has been pronounced to be an old chapel. It remains that I should point out the direct proof, supplied by a chain of documentary evidence, that the building was from the first designed for a hall, such as formed the appropriate appendage to a royal castle or palace, the scene alike of solemnities and festivities; of parliamentary assemblies; and of the administration of justice, civil and criminal, of which the aula regis has ever been the centre and source.

I do not profess to give an architectural history of the castle, though there are abundant materials for that purpose, to be drawn from authentic sources untouched by its past historians. My immediate object is to trace the pedigree of the hall from the time of its probable construction, and, with that view, to glean from contemporaneous or very early records, of indisputable authority, any notices that may throw light on the object of our enquiry[e].

From the Exchequer Domesday we learn that the Conqueror possessed a house or palace at Winchester, there called the "king's house," and that it stood upon land received from the abbey of St. Peter, i. e. Hyde Abbey, in exchange for property at Alton and Clere[f].

[e] Dr. Milner, by relying almost wholly on the early writers, usually called monastic, has fallen into considerable topographical errors. In those writers a single and very similar letter is the only distinction between *Wircestre* and *Wincestre*, or between *Wilton* and *Winton*. Roger de Hoveden ascribes to Stephen the erection of the castle "apud Wintoniam" in 1142; Henry of Huntingdon informs us in the same words, and under the same year, that it was built "apud Wiltonam." (See Hoved., p. 488. H. Huntingd. apud Saville, p. 392.) Dr. Milner adopts the former and least probable statement; for which he cites *both* authorities without pointing out the variance or justifying his preference. Again, H. of Huntingdon relates an attack on the city and castle of "Wincestria," where the Chronicon Gervasii calls it "Wirecestria." (Saville, p. 295; Chron. Gerv. p. 1370.)

[f] See also Testa de Nevill., f. 236. (printed ed.)

The first part of the Liber Winton, or Winton Domesday (a roll of Henry I.), and a charter of the same prince among the Cartæ Antiquæ, Y. No. 21, shew that, for the purpose of erecting this "domus regis," twelve of the king's burgage tenements were also destroyed, and that a "vicus" or street was pulled down to make room for the surrounding "fossatum," or ditch. It also appears (so far as the obscurity of this part of the Winton Book will permit us to interpret it) that these new erections of the king were situate near the "porta occidentis," or west gate.

Another charter of Henry I. (recited and inspected in one of 16 Edward IV.[g]), setting forth a composition between the bishop of Winchester and abbot of Hyde, incidentally mentions the castle and the castle gate, and the vicus of St. Valericus, whose church, together with that of St. Mary "in fossato," is known to have been situate without the west gate, and near to it. (See Milner, Appendix, No. VII.)

The result seems to be that William the First erected the castle of Winchester in the situation in which its remains still exist.

The interval between Henry I. and Henry II. is illustrated by no public records applicable to the castle; but in the reign of the last prince commences the regular series of invaluable records called the Pipe and Chancellors' rolls. A modern Pipe roll is a very uninstructive document, consisting, in part, of a long list of rents and entries mechanically copied from former rolls, which no sheriff attempts to understand; the residue being made up of estreats, fines, and the proceeds of criminal justice:—but at a time when the sheriff managed the king's property, received his rents, levied his ordinary aids and taxes, dispensed his charities, made purchases and payments for him, stocked his larder, paid for the board of his family, victualled his fortresses[h], and practically was, what in theory he still is, the great ministerial officer of the crown in almost all matters within his bailiwick,—this roll of accounts, made out at the close of his year of office, was a record pregnant with exact information, historical, statistical, and domestic, conveyed with a business-like economy of words and letters, that puts to shame the voluminous coil of the modern Pipe, of which the

[g] See Dugd. Monasticon, under Hyde Abbey, vol. i. p. 211, ed. 1655.

[h] Instances under all these heads will be easily seen in the first part of the roll of each county in the reign of Henry II.

weight and length are in the inverse ratio of the value of its contents.

In these accounts, rendered during the eventful reign of Henry II., few years occur without some notice of the castle of Winchester, or of the repairs done to its buildings. In one of them, and possibly in others unobserved by me, the "aula regis in castello de Winton" is represented to be under repair, (Chancell. Roll, 21 Henry II.); but I observe no signs of any extensive renovation either of the castle generally, or of this part of it[i], and in the latter part of this reign Clarendon was perhaps a more favoured residence. In 1177[k], marble columns were prepared for the decoration of his palace there, in which, about ten years before, he had made an ineffectual struggle to impose limits to the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome.

In this reign, too, the chapels and gaol of the castle are mentioned, and the administration of justice is an habitual expense[l].

The occasional repairs of the castle continue until the reign of Henry of Winchester, who was born in a chamber of this castle in 1206. In 1216 he ascended the throne, and, in the fourth year afterwards, a writ issued directing the sheriff of Hants to prepare the hall of the castle, the painted chamber, kitchen, and other offices for his reception at the following Christmas[m].

In the sixth year of his reign, A.D. 1222, occurs the first of a series of writs and accounts respecting the hall of the castle, which continue with little intermission for many following years. In that year extensive works were commenced, of which many of the weekly bills are still extant among the rolls of the exchequer. They began on the feast of St. Gregory, pope, and, though not confined to the hall, the works about the "magna aula" of the castle are certainly very conspicuous among them. One roll, called "rotulus de attractu ad aulam infra ballium," consists entirely of charges

It must be remembered, however, that only those works will be found in the sheriff's account, for which the sheriff paid, or was in some way accountable. An item in the Pipe roll may prove work done; but the silence of the roll does not disprove it. The rolls also contain the accounts of other persons besides the sheriff.

[k] Pipe roll, 23 Hen. III.

[l] In 1179, under the head "Civitas Winton," there is a charge of 4*s.* 10*d.* for drowning a culprit, named Walter, by water ordeal. Less fortunate or more guilty than Queen Emma, he had submitted to the "judicium aquæ" with a result very different from that with which the queen, in the same city, underwent the "judicium candentis ferri." See Pip. Rot., 25 Hen. II.

[m] Rot. Claus., 4 Hen. III. m. 16; Rot. Pip., 8 Hen. III.

for drawing stone from the quarries to the castle for the columns of the hall.

In 16 Henry III., A.D. 1232, a writ directed the bishop of Winchester to cut down and sell all the underwood of the forest of Bere, and to apply the monies to the making of the "great hall of the king in the castle of Winchester[n]."

In the following year like commands are given to cut timber in the king's woods in Hampshire, under the direction of Master Elias of Dereham, for the hall of the castle: and the Pipe roll of the following year shews that it was so applied[o].

In 19 Henry III. a new kitchen, buttery, and "dispensa," are made in connection with the hall, of which the situation is described in the Pipe roll as on the north and south sides[p].

In 20 Henry III. (1235-6.) the hall was so far completed as to admit of internal decoration, and we find that the capitals and the wooden "botilli"[q] in the beams of the hall were then gilt; the hall itself whitened and painted; a seat was placed for the king at the head of the hall "versus orientem[r];" "verrinæ," or glazed frames, were made for the windows; and in the gable of the hall "versus orientem," i. e. above the king's seat, was painted a Wheel of Fortune, respecting which I have to offer some observations hereafter.

These decorations, and indeed all other parts of the work, seem to have been entrusted to Elias of Derham, or Dereham; for though Henry of Cerne and other persons are often named in the writs, they seem to have been "custodes operationum," or general superintendants of the works: the person, whose *taste* was relied upon, was evidently Master Elias of Dereham. He was, in fact, the architect of the hall, as well as of other works in the castle[s]; and to his architectural talents we shall find that he united, as ancient artists frequently did, some celebrity in other departments of science.

[n] Rot. Pat., 16 Hen. III. m. 5; 1 Rymer, 204. last ed.

[o] Liberat. Rot., 17 Hen. III. m. 6; Rot. Cancell., 18 Hen. III.

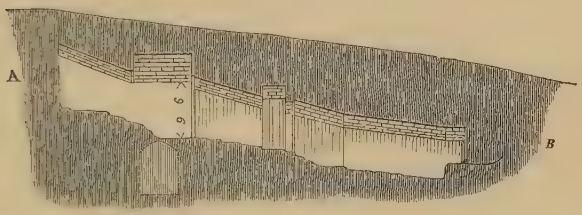
[p] Rot. Claus., and Rot. Cancell. eod. anno.

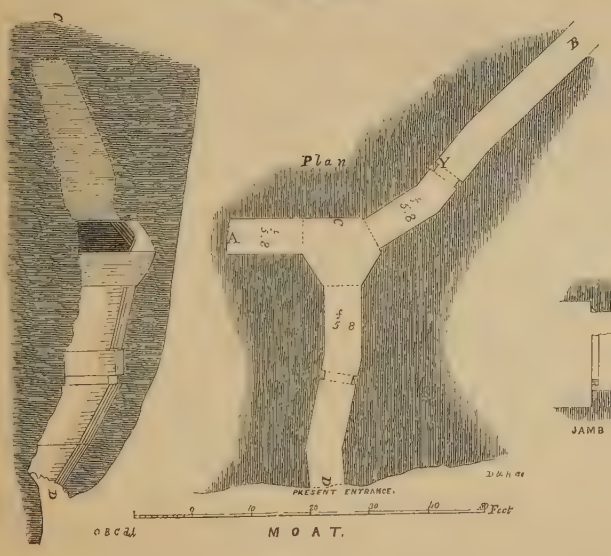
[q] I presume that "capitibus lapidibus" means capitals. The botilli or botels must mean the bosses. Any ventricose enlargement seems to be called a botellus, whether it be a bottle, a bowel, a boss, or a projecting cylindrical moulding.

[r] I am not sure whether "versus" in this place means at the east end of the hall, or at that end of the hall which faces the east, i. e. the west end of it. The classical import of an expression is an unfaithful guide to its medieval meaning; but I conceive that the word, used with reference to the interior of a room means, *facing* the east.

[s] Among the other works were probably the subterranean passages leading to the postern, which still remain. (See the accompanying woodcuts.)

VIEW IN THE PASSAGE TO THE POSTERN.





PLAN AND SECTIONS OF THE PASSAGES TO THE POSTERN.

In 23 Henry III. posts, chains, and lists were placed before the porch of the hall, in which porch statues were inserted, and the hall received the further embellishment of a Mappa Mundi, which the king in that year issued special orders to be painted[s].

The hall is occasionally mentioned afterwards in this reign, but not in connection with any considerable works there. In 37 Henry III. (1252-3.) it was repainted, and in 44 Henry III. a payment was made for renovating the "pictura aulæ regis in castro[t]."

I do not profess to have examined all the Pipe rolls after this date; but other detached rolls of works and accounts, rendered separately from the sheriff's accounts, extend over the reigns of Edward I., Richard II., and Henry VI., which have been examined. The hall, or great hall, is mentioned in most of them. Among the foreign accounts of 16 to 22 Richard II., in the Pipe office, is an account of the expense of repairs done to the two *aisles* of the great hall—"super reparatione duorum iles magnæ aulæ"—by an order under the privy seal issued in the 13th year of that reign. For these repairs a certain sum was to be deducted out of the city fee-farm for seven consecutive years. The mention of the two aisles not only shews that halls were so constructed, but also points to the present building as the hall alluded to. The works in the reign of Richard II. and Henry VI. were considerable, and were continued during two several spaces of seven years by virtue of writs issued under the great seal. The bailiffs of the city appear to have undertaken to expend, out of the farm of the city, an annual sum in the repair of the castle for the seven ensuing years; and the rolls contain the particulars of work done under that contract. Three rolls of Richard II. and five of the rolls of Henry VI. are extant. The "great hall" was the principal object of expenditure, but the works are almost wholly confined to its roof, and north and south walls, especially the north wall. I observe no repairs of the east and west walls. These, no doubt, abutted on other buildings, and were therefore not externally exposed to decay like the north and south walls; a fact which also tends to prove the identity of the hall. The bosses of the present roof, already noticed, indicate repairs executed in the reign of Edward IV.

The principal parts of the castle that are named in these

[s] See Rot. Cancell., and Rot. Liberat. eod. anno. [t] Rot. Pip., 37 and 44 Hen. III.

various rolls are the sheriff's ward, or "warda Vicecomitis;" the "donjeon," in which were various buildings and towers; a "beumund;" and a tower (frequently named) which the early rolls call "Manesies" tower, and the later ones "Manyson's" tower. In the Pipe rolls are also mentioned the painted chamber, the goal, the "turris Judeorum," the "camera Rosamundæ," the "camera clericorum," and the "camera ubi rex natus fuit," which the sheriff tells us was painted green by the order of Master Elias[u].

In the foreign accounts of Henry VIII. it appears that a sum of 66*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* was expended in the repair of the "aula regis infra castrum de Wynchestre et le Round tabyll ibidem." The money for the repairs was advanced by the collectors of the customs and subsidies in the port of Southampton between the 24th of August, 1516, and the 31st of January, 1517. It will be observed that this was before the Reformation,—the period to which Dr. Milner would doubtless have referred the supposed desecration of the chapel.

That the later works should be chiefly confined to the hall and fortifications is consistent with the fact that the castle was never the favourite or habitual residence of our princes after the reign of Henry III. until that of Charles II. The civil wars at the close of the long reign of Henry III. were every where the occasion of lamentable disorder and rapine, and Winchester never recovered from their effects. The ruinous and impoverished state of the city is alluded to in the Pipe rolls of 49 and 56 Henry III. It caused the reduction of its ancient feefarm rent to a hundred marks, at first as a temporary relief, and afterwards as a permanent one, confirmed by letters patent of 1 Edward III. This rent has continued, unaltered, I believe, down to the present time.

These various records bring down the history of the "magna aula in castro Wintoniæ" to a period when there is no longer any difficulty in pursuing it by the aid of ordinary sources of information. In the instruments and conveyances extant after this date I know of no instance in which the present building has been called by any name but that of a hall; and the "great hall" seems to have been its formal designation. When the internal buildings and works of the castle were in existence, there may have been, and I think there were, other apartments sometimes called "aulæ;" but from the thirteenth

[u] Rot. Cancel. 20 Hen. III.

century down to the last formal description of it in any conveyance known to me, I find no evidence that the words "magna aula," used simply and without any addition or further description, designated any building except the present one. The records of the quarter sessions as well as those of the city prove the constant use of the great hall, *eo nomine*, for the purposes of justice from the sixteenth century downwards. In the first year of the reign of Elizabeth the keepership of the castle, with its green and ditches, was granted by the queen to the corporation, evidently with a view to the use of the hall at assizes and sessions. In the same reign the corporation repaired the "middle roof" of the hall, and the queen the "south isle," as we are informed in a special report made in 1570 by Sir Richard Norton and others to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, of which there is a copy in the Cotton MSS., Titus. B. 2. p. 242[x]. In 1659 and 1668, it was repaired by an order of sessions[y]. In 30 Charles II. the corporation received a grant of the site of the castle[z], excepting the hall "commonly called the *great hall* within the walls of the castle," which had before then been vested in trustees for the use of the county. Up to this time it is clear that the building had not gotten the reputation of a chapel. They are indeed but little acquainted with the habits of conveyancers, who can imagine that such a name of reputation would have been omitted from these deeds. The chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster retained its ancient name as long as it stood.

With these records before us, is it possible, by any fair reasoning, to escape the inference that in this surviving structure we now see the identical hall of Henry III.? We see a building of which the prevailing style and features plainly correspond with the date at which the great hall of the castle was renovated: the old hall, like the present, had its axis, or length, lying east and west: it was supported by columns: it had two side aisles: it had north and south walls that underwent frequent repairs, of which the present ones bear evident indications: it had internal walls at the east and

[x] The letters patent of Elizabeth, being in the first year of her reign, were probably a mere renewal of a preceding grant for the same purposes.

[y] See Sessions Books, eisd. annis.

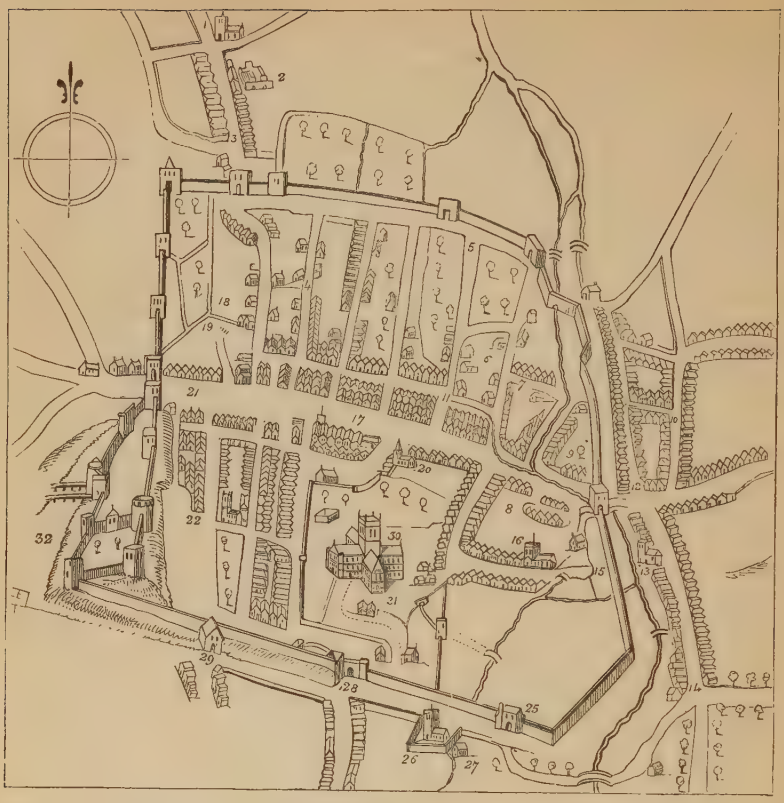
[z] The conveyance was not by the crown but by persons claiming under a previous grant. The alienation of this, with other crown land, during the commonwealth has produced some confusion in the title. See 5 Ledger Book—Enrolments; among the City archives.

west ends, which appear to have required no reparation and were therefore probably not insulated: it had attached offices which must have opened into the north and south sides of it: at the east and west ends were gables with blank spaces fit for the reception of internal decoration, one, and probably both, of which accordingly did receive paintings of circular design at a very early period; and, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and probably long before, a round table was an appendage to the hall. In the face of these facts, are we to permit our imagination to erect another hall, the counterpart of the present in position, style, and construction, for the mere purpose of supporting an hypothesis founded only on vague tradition or the fancy of an anonymous author of the last century?

For nearly three hundred years we know that the king's commissions have been habitually executed in the hall, nor have we any ground to suppose that they were before executed in any other place. That the justices itinerant sat in the castle, bringing with them a retinue and attracting a confluence of people so large as to make the simultaneous residence of the court inconvenient, is attested as early as the thirteenth century by both the Worcester and the Winton annalists[a]; and, in 1249, Matthew Paris[b] records a memorable instance of justice executed both upon criminals and upon the jury who had hesitated to convict them. Upon that occasion the freeholders of the county and others who formed the jury and were expected, according to the practice of those times, to present, of their own knowledge, certain malefactors guilty of robbery and extortion, were summoned by the king's writ "in aulâ castri," and were committed to the lowest cell of the castle gaol for their refractory conduct in refusing to find a verdict for the crown.

The survey of 1570, already referred to, indicates that at that time the works of the castle were by no means important. The castle green and its ditches, walls, and ramparts, are specified, together with the hall, of which the north aisle was then dilapidated. Speed, in his collection of maps, has a slight bird's-eye perspective view of the castle, with its two courts, extending northward to the west gate. If reliance is to be placed on it, the hall must have formed a portion of a range of building running east and west, and separating the

[a] Angl. Sacra, vol. i. pp. 498, 311, 504. [b] M. Paris, p. 760, (ed. Wats.)



1. Hyde Church
2. Hyde Abbey
3. Hyde Street
4. Jury Street
5. Tanner's Street
6. Ruell Chapel
7. Wallis Street
8. St. Mary's Abbey
9. St. John's Hospital
10. St. John's Street
11. Tens Lane
12. Water Lane
13. St. Peter's Church
14. St. Peter's Street
15. Colbroke Street
16. St. Peter's Church, Colbroke
17. St. Mary's Callender
18. The Jail Prison
19. Staple Garden
20. St. Moris' Church
21. St. Lawrance
22. St. Thomas
25. Wolsey House
26 The College
27. College Mill
28. King's Gate
29. South Gate
30. The Minster
31. Paradise
32. The Castle

two courts. The small triple window, now to be seen in the point of the eastern gable, shews that it was slightly prominent above the adjacent buildings at this end. At the west end it probably abutted immediately on a tower. Another map of a later date in the additional MSS. of the British Museum (No. 11564) represents a similar arrangement on a larger scale, but its obvious inaccuracy in other parts makes it unworthy of credit. When the parliamentary troops in 1642 and 1645 laid siege to the city, (which they captured with little difficulty on both occasions,) I suspect that the castle presented to the batteries of Oliver little beside its

dismantled towers and ramparts and this venerable hall. There is reason to believe that, on the few solemn occasions on which the city had been the object of a royal visit since the union of the Roses, namely, the birth of Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII., the visit of Charles V., and the marriage of Queen Mary, the royal party did not reside at the castle; probably because it afforded no suitable apartments[c].

To these memorials of the hall, let me add a few remarks on the most conspicuous decoration of its interior—the painted table of Arthur, hanging on its eastern wall. Some

notice of it is the more pertinent, inasmuch as we have seen that it tends to identify the building with the hall of Henry III.

As a sort of prolusion to his subsequent history, Dr. Milner published in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1788 (vol. 58, p. 969, &c.) some papers on the antiquities of Winchester, containing a statement that the table was shewn to Charles V. at Winchester in 1522, when it was for the *last* time newly painted, and that it had been reputed to be the genuine table of Arthur as early as the twelfth century, having been seen by John Lesley, bishop of Ross, in 1139.

[c] The proceedings on the first and last of these occasions have been described with minuteness by contemporary writers. See Leland's Collect., vol. iv. p. 204, &c.

In his History he has silently corrected his statement by altering the date of 1139 to 1539, and by adding, that the table was for the *first* time painted on the occasion of the emperor's visit, and that the present one was probably the work of King Stephen.

Some correction was certainly necessary; for the bishop, who was the adherent and accredited agent of Mary, Queen of Scots, and who was born in Scotland in or about the year 1527, is not likely to have seen the table much before 1539. But if the historian had consulted the original author, he would doubtless have made his text still more correct by omitting the date altogether; for the bishop assigns no date to his visit, but merely informs us that he had seen the table "not long before" he wrote his book, of which the epistolary dedication is dated 1578. The passage, which is incorrectly cited by Milner, shews that the names of the knights were then inscribed on its circumference[d].

I am not aware of any distinct reference to this table before the reign of Henry VI. or Edward IV., when the poetic historian, Hardyng, who lived in both reigns, alludes to the table of Arthur as "hanging yet" at Winchester[e]. Leland, in his *Assertio Arthuri*, also refers to it in the reign of Henry VIII.[f] We are not, however, told by either of these writers in what manner it was painted, or whether it was painted at all; nor is it in any way described by them.

Giovio, usually called Paulus Jovius, in a passage referred to in Warton's Description of Winchester, informs us that the table was shewn to Charles V. on his then recent visit to Winchester; but that the marginal names, having been corroded by decay, had been restored unskilfully and with so little respect for the venerable antiquity of the original work, as almost to impair its character of genuineness[g]. Jovius is,

[d] "Eandem ego mensam (si accolæ falsâ quâdam majorum superstitione conflictati non errant) in Wintoniensi castro ad æternam rei memoriam solenniter conservatam, militum equestrium nominibus undique notatam, non ita pridem aspexi." De Origine Scotorum, p. 140, ed. 1675, Rom.

[e] See last ed. p. 146. The verse which mentions Winchester and its round table is not to be found in the earliest manuscript copy of Hardyng (Lansdowne MSS. Num. 204). This MS. ends with the year 1436. I am not sufficiently conversant with the MSS. copies of Hardyng to be able to refer the insertion of this passage to its proper date; but the omission of it in one of the best and earliest copies is rather unfortunate for the history of the table.

[f] Collectanea, vol. v. p. 28.

[g] "Custoditur religiosè adhuc ea mensa admirandæ virtutis testimonio memorabilis, ostentaturque claris hospitibus, uti nuper Carolo Cæsari apud Wintoniam urbem, sed exesis multâ carie circa margines procerum nominibus, quæ dum ab imperitis inflictâ majestati vetustatis injuriâ insulso judicio reponerentur, pene effectum est ut veluti suspectâ fide magnam partem

for various reasons, not likely to have been himself at Winchester during the visit of the emperor in 1522, yet his account is probably correct; for the table had certainly been repaired not long before that year, as we know by the roll of accounts, called the foreign accounts, already mentioned. (Ante, p. 57.)

A Spanish writer, who was present at the marriage of Philip and Mary, is the first, that I know of, who describes, or intends to describe, with some minuteness the painting on this table. The author is Diego de Vera. For the passage[h] containing the description I am indebted to Leroux de Lincy, who has inserted it in his analysis of the Romance of Brut, (p. 166), and who does not seem to be aware that it describes the table at Winchester.

"Lors du mariage de Philip II. avec la reine Marie, ou montrait encore a Hunscrit la table ronde fabriqueé par Merlin: elle se composait de 25 compartemens teintés en blank et en vert, lesquels se terminaient en pointe au milieu, et allaient s' elargissant jusqu' a la circonférence, et dans chaque division etaient ecrits le nom du cavalier et celui du roi. L' un de ces compartemens, appelé place de Judas ou siege périlleux, restait tonjours vide." The description is certainly not quite accurate, unless the painting has been altered since; and the name of *Hunscrit* is a greater departure from the orthography of the word *Winchester* or *Hampshire*, than is usually permitted even to a foreign writer. Yet when it is recollected that the occasion, on which the writer saw it, was an event which certainly took place in this city, can it be doubted that he speaks of this hall and table?

To what period the identical names now on it are to be referred, I must leave those to decide whose critical acquaintance with the cycle of the Round table romances will enable them to state the source from which the names are borrowed. But there will, I think, be no doubt that, whatever retouching it may have since undergone (especially in the royal figure, which was, I believe, repainted within time of living memory) the form of the letters and general decorations of the table, even if we had no extrinsic evidence,

dignitatis amiserit." Regionum et Insularum &c. descriptiones, fo. 7. ed. Basil. 1578. fol. There are earlier editions. Jovius died at the close of the reign of Henry VIII. or the beginning of that of Edward VI.

[h] I presume that the original is in Spanish or Latin. It is a MS. in the Royal library at Madrid.

would indicate a date not later, nor much earlier, than the reign of Henry VIII.[i] It was then that the black letter, approaching the time of its disappearance from inscriptions and architectural legends, began to grow fanciful and extravagant in its forms.

Ashmole, in his History of the Order of the Garter (p. 95), published shortly after the Restoration, speaks of the table as having "no show of antiquity," and as having been "broken to pieces (being before half ruined through age) by the parliament's soldiers in the beginning of the late war."

If Ashmole's account be literally true, the identity of the table is in danger, and we must assign a very late date both to the fabric and the superficial embellishment: but it would seem that he spoke carelessly, and from report only.

But whatever be the date of this identical table and its paintings, there is reason to think that, if it be not substantially one transmitted to us from the first renovation of the hall by Henry III., it is, at all events, a table of ancient lineage, the surviving representative of a very venerable work of art which once occupied its place.

I own that when I met with the entry in the Chancellor's roll, 20 Henry III., of the "rota fortunæ," which had then been painted in the gable of the hall towards the east, I was strongly impressed with the opinion that this wheel of Fortune was the predecessor of Arthur's table; and when I found among the Liberate rolls of the same reign in the Tower of London (pointed out to my notice by my friend Mr. Hardy) a commission by the king to paint a "mappa mundi" in the same hall, it occurred to me that an order to delineate a chart of the world had been figuratively executed by painting an emblem of its vicissitudes.

The pagan goddess was indeed a favourite subject with our Christian ancestors, and familiar to them long before this hall was built. In one of the lost MSS. of the Cotton library was contained an ancient drawing of a "rota fortunæ depicta cum aliis figuris eam circumambientibus," (Vitell. D. VIII.,) and in the first No. of the Journal of this Society[k], the usual

[i] The double rose in the centre, and the form of Arthur's crown, shew that the modern reparations have always attempted, with more or less success, to adhere to the original design. Aubrey, in his Monumenta Britannica, as cited by Sir R. C. Hoar (South Wilts, p. 244), reports that in his time the name of Sir Gawain was in the "limbe" of the round table in the "Castle Hall."

[k] Vol. i. p. 63.

form is correctly described as "a large wheel with a crowned female in the centre; some rising, others falling from it." A very learned writer in the Quarterly Review[l] reminds us of various examples of it in churches both at home and abroad. An early song on "la Roe de fortune" is contained in a collection of old French poems of the jongleurs, recently published by M. Jubinal[m]. The same image of human mutability was present in the mind of William of Malmesbury[n], when, writing in the beginning of the twelfth century, he tells us that the rightful heir to the English throne, Edgar Atheling, had, by a strange vicissitude of fortune, settled down into a retired country gentleman under the Norman government. "Edgarus, diverso fortunæ ludicro rotatus, nunc remotus et tacitus canos suos in agro consumit."

The conversion of such a wheel into the subject now painted on the round table was obvious and easy: Fortune, by a revolution of her own wheel, might have been deposed, and Arthur made to reign in her stead.

Unfortunately for my theory in this respect, I found, on examination, that the order to paint the map of the world was issued three years, at least, after the wheel of fortune had been painted. It is therefore clear that, though this wheel may have been the foundation of the present picture, it could not have been painted in pursuance of the order to execute a mappa mundi.

In what form then was this second order complied with? and where is the mappa mundi to be found? A recent publication of the Camden Society appears, at first sight, to supply an answer to these questions.

In the Thornton romance of Sir Degrevaunt, we are told that, in consequence of his valour and merit, he was made by King Arthur a knight of the round table; and the poet vouches the "mappa mundi" in proof of the fact—

> "For thy they name hem that stounde
> A knight of tabulle round,
> As maked is in the mappe mound
> In storye full ryght." THORNT. ROM. p. 178.

[l] Vol. 74. p. 306.

[m] Paris, 1835. p. 177.

[n] Vol. ii. p. 425. ed. Hardy. It is curious that Hardyng, in his Chronicle, introduces the same image in speaking of the death of Arthur by the hand of Mordred:

> "Fortune, false executryse of werldes,
> * * * * * *
> Why stretchest thou so thy whele upon Mordred
> Agayne his eme (*uncle*) to do so cruel dede!"

The editor of the romance is inclined to consider the allusion here to the "mappe-mound" as "altogether fanciful," and it certainly is extremely obscure, unless the expression has a much wider import than that of a geographical chart or map in the usual sense of the word. The editor, however, has himself noticed an example of its use in the larger sense of a written description of the "miracula mundi[o]." It is indeed impossible to suppose that a *tabula rotunda* is synonymous with a *mappa mundi;* yet among the "miracula," or memorabilia "mundi," suitable to the embellishment of a princely hall of the thirteenth century, our ancestors would doubtless have given a place to Arthur and his knights. A great and undefined antiquity is now generally allowed to the romances of the Round Table. They were, at all events, current in the Norman-French of Chrestien de Troyes, Manessier, and others at the close of the twelfth century; and from Warton we learn that Henry was conversant with the romantic fictions of the age[p]. Is it therefore unreasonable to suppose that, in pursuance of the king's order, Elias of Dereham selected from the memorable things, of which the stories were then current and popular, the subject of a fabulous institution intimately associated by tradition with the castle of Winchester? If such was the fact, it was no unwarrantable deception but a pleasant conceit to delineate his subject on a circular board purporting to be the very table at which the king and his paladins were wont to sit.

I fear, however, that even this tempting hypothesis, which would fix the date of the present design, is hardly admissible. The mappe-mound of the Thornton romance writer was, I believe, an historical and descriptive work or "storye," such as Sir John Maundeville mentions in his Travels[q]. The mappa mundi at Winchester was probably a geographical chart of the world according to the notions prevailing among the learned of those days. There is, indeed, reason to believe that it was a familiar domestic ornament. Waltham Abbey is known to have possessed one; there still exists one belonging to Hereford cathedral; and, what is more in point, there was a mappa mundi of some celebrity at the royal palace of Westminster

[o] Note, p. 289.

[p] A Pipe Roll, cited by Warton (Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 117, 118. ed. 1824) has this entry: "In firmaculis, hapsis, et clavis argenteis ad magnum librum Romancis regis." I have not yet been able to find the passage in the roll referred to.

[q] Chap. 31.

in the fourteenth century. The map varied in its shape, but, when it represented the entire globe, it was circular[r].

It ought not, therefore, to surprise us to find a chart of this kind in the hall of Winchester castle; and it is a curious confirmation of this view, that a manuscript, formerly belonging to St. Alban's Abbey, of a date not very different from that of the hall itself, contains, among other circular diagrams or "schemes" representing various cosmographical theories, one which purports to be after the design of the architect of this very hall—"secundum magistrum Elyâ de Derham"[s].

The mappa at Hereford, being intended for an altar-piece, represents the day of judgment on its margin. That of Winchester may possibly have contained some marginal illustration of which the subject was Arthur and his knights. In the place of this I suspect the table to have been substituted upon the occasion of subsequent repairs. Two or three probable occasions, on which the alteration may have taken place, could be suggested[t]; but I must leave the determination of the precise date to those whose curiosity and leisure may induce them to search for decisive evidence among the records of the Exchequer.

In the mean time, we must be content to assign to this curious work of art a respectable, but moderate, antiquity. With some allowance for repaintings and reparation, it is, at all events, impossible to deny to it an age of about four centuries:—it is possible that this may be extended to as many as six;—but the chances, in the present state of the evidence, are in favour of some early, intermediate, date. E. S.

[r] See Cotton MSS. Nero. D. V. f. 1. A portion only of the world is depicted in this MS., and is described thus in a more recent hand—"Mappa mundi topographice delineata." Then follows this heading, of which I have not attempted to mend the Latin: "Sumatim facta est dispositio mappa mundi magistri Rob. de Melkelega, et mappa mundi de Waltham. Mappa mundi domini regis, quod est in camera sua apud Westmonasterium, figuratur in ordine Mathæi de Parisio. Verissimum autem figuratur in eodem ordine, quod est quasi clamis (chlamys?) extensus. Talis est scema nostre partis habitabilis secundum philosophos; scilicet, quarta pars terre qui est triangularis fere. Corpus enim terre sperícum est." The writer's meaning seems to be that, as the whole globe is round, a quarter of it ought to be made to resemble a spherical triangle.

[s] Cotton MSS. Nero. D. I. f. 184-5.

[t] The "pictures" of the hall were repainted, as we have seen, in 44 Henry III. In 1285 Edward I. celebrated the creation of many knights at Winchester, when we observe that extensive repairs were executed. See Rot. Cancel. 13 Edw. I.

CHRONOLOGICAL EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CASTLE, HALL, AND ROUND TABLE[u].

Domesday, f. 43, *vol.* 1, *printed ed.* "Terra Sancti Petri Wintoniensis. Abbas S. Petri de Wincestre tenet Aultone. Eddid regina tenuit tempore regis Edwardi. . . . . De isto manerio testatur comitatus quod injuste accepit pro excambio domus regis, quia domus erat regis."

See also *ibid.* under Clere.

Liber Winton, f. 5, *b.* "Modo incipit de terris thensium (*tenentium*) a porta occidentis usque ad portam orientis. . . . . .

"Summa in Hestredinges. In hoc vico habuit rex Edwardus LXIII burg' reddentes consuetudinem. Postea fuerunt vastati XII, qr in eorum terris fuit facta domus regis, et de aliis non habet rex consuetudinem nisi de XVIII, et de his terris XVII burg' regis consuetudinem reddentibus manent;

"Extra portam de West;

"Domus Safugel. redd[*idit*] tempore regis Edwardi omnes consuetudines, et modo est in elemosinâ, et reddit regi de langabulo et brueg' (*burgagio*) VIII denarios, et elemosinæ VIII solidos, et ibi juxta fuit quidam vicus, set fuit diffactus quando rex fecit facere suum possatum." (Then follow other burgages.)

Carta Henrici primi. Cartæ Antiquæ Y. No. 11. *Dugd. Monast. Hyde Abbey, Num. XI.*) "Henricus rex etc. salutem. Sciatis quod concessi et hâc cartâ confirmavi Deo et S. Petro . . . . . ecclesias de Kingsclera et Aweltona etc. cum quinque hidis terræ in eâdem villâ de Aweltone sicut rex Willielmus pater meus eis dedit in escambium pro terrâ illâ in quâ ædificavit aulam suam in urbe Winton. Et volo quod eas habeat solutas et quietas de geldo etc. sicut terra illa ubi domus mea sedet in Wynton fuit unquam melius quieta."

Cart. Henrici primi, A.D. 1110, *recited by inspeximus in a charter* 16 *Ed. IV., memb.* 9. The charter recites a dispute between William bishop of Winchester and Gaufridus abbot of Hyde, respecting the procession in Ramis palmarum, and the decision or award in the following terms: "Quod abbas cum duobus vel quot voluerit monachis ad episcopalem ecclesiam veniet si processio ecclesiæ episcopalis ad S. Jacobum sit itura, et cum ipsâ processione ad S. Jacobum ibit: Processio vero abbatiæ cum priore et reliquis supra castellum ei obviam veniet ante portam castelli, et cum episcopali processione apud S. Jacobum faciet stationem et redditum usque ad portam civitatis de West ad propinquiorem vicum qui vocatur S. Walarici, et inde cum suis revertetur abbas ad monasterium suum[x]."

[u] The contractions are extended wherever there is no reasonable ground of doubt.

[x] The application of this record will be readily understood by any one acquainted with the city and its suburbs.

Rot. Cancellarii, 19 *Hen. II.* "In custodiâ castelli de Winton Willielmo de Lanvalei, 100*l.* . . . . . Et in operationibus castelli de Winton, 48*l.* 5s., per breve Ricardi de Luci et per visum Gervasii filii Stigandi et Halenaldi et Willielmi de Lund'. Et in guarnisione castelli de Winton, pro 60 summis frumenti 4*l.* 19s. 10d., et pro 60 baconis 108s. 7d., et pro 10 pensis casei 45s., per breve regis."

Id. 21 *Hen. II.* Reparation of the "Aula regis in castello de Winton."

Id. 23 *Hen. II.* "In operationibus capellæ regis in castello Wintoniæ", &c. (and other repairs there).

"In operatione cameræ clericorum in castello Wintoniæ.

"In ducendis columpnis marmoreis ad Clarendon." &c.

Id. 24 *Hen. II.* "In operatione gaiolæ in castro Winton. In parandis herbariis regis in castro Winton." &c.

Id. 25 *Hen. II.* Repairs in the chapel, kitchen, and other parts of the castle are mentioned. Under "Civitas Winton" is the following entry: "Et pro justiciâ faciendâ de Waltero, qui periit judicio aquæ, 4s. 10d."

The Pipe rolls 4 and 10 John, and Close roll 17 John, shew also repairs done in the castle.

Rot. Claus. 4 *Hen. III. mem.* 16. "Rex vicecomiti Suhamt. salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod statim visis literis istis reparari et præparari facias aulam castri nostri Winton et cameram nostram depictam, et coquinam nostram, et minutas officinas, contra hoc instans festum natale Domini, ubi erimus in eodem festo, et custum quod ad hoc posueris per visum et testimonium legalium hominum computabitur tibi ad Scaccarium. Teste Henrico de Burgo apud Winton."

Rotulus operationum, 6 *Hen. III.* A roll of three parts.

Part I. is headed, "Expensæ factæ ad castrum Wintoniæ reparandum per manus majoris Wintoniæ, magistri Henrici de Cerne, et Alani de Hereford, custodum operis castri Wintoniæ, anno regni regis Henrici sexto, ad festum beati Gregorii, papæ, et per manus Johannis Colbe, Galfridi de Sanctâ Fide et Rogeri Coleman." Then follow the particulars of weekly bills. At the end is the following entry: "Summa summarum hujus rotuli, 626*l.* 6s. 1d."

Part II. is headed, "Expensa in cariagio petrarum de Heselbur' ad columpnas aulæ infra ballium in castro Winton, anno regis Henrici sexto ad festum beati Bartholomæi apostoli."

"Eâdem die liberatur Ricardo Sired' ad frangendum et extrahendum 105 petras de quarririâ de Heselbur', 23s. 4d.

Eâdem die Adæ de Wadesyk pro duâbus carecatis de petris de Heselbur' cariandis ad castrum Wintoniæ, 32d.

Lib[eratur] Ricardo Durando die Dominicâ proximâ post festum beati Dunstani ad cariandum duos sumers ad chimeneiam aulæ infra turrim, 5s.

. . . . . Item liberatur Ricardo Lewine et quatuor sociis suis pro quinque carecatis de petris Heselbur' cariandis ad castrum Winton ad magnam aulam die S. Johannis Baptistæ, 10s."

Numerous payments are entered on this roll for the carriage of cartloads of stone, and the columns of the hall are twice mentioned. The sum

total is 9*l.* 4s. 5d. This part is indorsed, "Rotulus de attractu ad aulam infra ballium."

Part III. is headed, "Expensa in rebus emptis ad reparationem castri Wintoniæ necessariis per manus majoris Wintoniæ, magistri H. de Cerne, et Alani de Hereford, anno regni regis H. sexto ad festum beati Gregorii papæ, quando primo inceperunt operationem castri prædicti, et per manus Rogeri Coleman et Johannis Colbe." Then follow purchases of lime, "carbones," oaks from Andover, stone from Seleborn, "petra de Insula" (Isle of Wight stone?) ropes, iron, sand, Gascon wine, &c. At the end is this entry—"Summa summarum hujus rotuli, 176*l.* 9s. 1d. Expensa excedit receptam de 15*l.* 18s. 3½d."

Rot. Claus. 6 *Hen. III. mem.* 12. "Rex constabulario de Kerebroc (*Carisbrook*) salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod permittas mascones nostros venientes in Insulam de Wictâ petram ad denarios nostros ibidem fodere securé et inde abducere liberé sine impedimento usque ad castrum nostrum Wintoniæ ad illum reparandum. Teste," &c.

Rot. Magnus 8 *Hen. III.*[y] "In reparatione aulæ castri Wintoniæ et cameræ depictæ et coquinæ et minutarum officinarum contra Natale anno regis sexto, 11*l.* 4s. 10½d."

The roll specifies further repairs at the mews of the park at Winchester, the gaol, and other buildings[z].

Id. 11 *Hen. III.* "In emendatione domorum castri, 100s. Operationes aulæ regis in castro Wintoniæ." &c.

Id. 12 *Hen. III.* "Emendatio castri" mentioned generally.

Rot. Liberationum. 12 *Hen. III. mem.* 5. "Rex baronibus suis de Scaccario salutem. Computate ballivis nostris Wintoniæ 100s. quos liberaverunt per præceptum nostrum vicecomiti nostro Suhamt' ad liberationes faciendas operationibus aulæ nostræ castri nostri Wintoniæ. Teste," &c.

There are several other writs on the roll for payment of works at Winchester castle. The "operationes portæ castri nostri Winton" are mentioned.

Id. 13 *Hen. III. mem.* 3. "Rex thesaurario et camerariis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Magistro Henrico de Cern 50 marcas ad operationem aulæ castri Wintoniæ."

Id. eod. an. mem. 4. "Rex eisdem salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Magistro Henrico de Cern 50 marcas ad operationem aulæ nostræ castri nostri Winton." The last is entitled on the roll "Liberate pro carpentariis et aliis." There are several other writs to the same effect, specifying the Hall.

Rot. Cancellarii. 14 *Hen. III.* "In emendatione capellæ regis infra turrim castri Winton et magnæ capellæ ejusdem castri et cameræ pictæ et alterius cameræ quæ est ex transverso aulæ in eodem castro, 45*l.* 13s. 6d., per breve

[y] The Magnus rotulus or Pipe roll for the most part corresponds verbatim with the Chancellor's roll of the same date. I have quoted the one or the other according to the facilities of access.

[z] These seem to have been done under the writ close 4 Hen. III., already cited. It is evident that the sheriff adopted the language of the writ in every instance in which he had to state his compliance with it.

ejusdem [regis] . . . . In liberatione Petri capellani ministrantis in capellâ castri Winton, 50s., et in emendatione domorum regis in castro Winton 100s., et in justitiâ faciendâ 3s. 6d.[a]"

Id. 15 *Hen. III.* "In liberatione Petri capellani ministrantis in capellâ S. Thomæ in castro Winton., 50s." Repairs of the castle are also mentioned.

Id. 16 *Hen. III.* "In liberatione capell[*ano*] S. Thomæ in castro Winton. 50s. . . . . In emendatione domorum regis in castro Winton et in reparatione pontis ejusdem castri, 100s. Et in calice empto ad capellam S. Judoci in castro Winton, 20s."

Rot. Lit. Pat. 16 *Hen. III. mem.* 5. *anno* 1232.—1 *Rymer's Fœdera*, 204. "Mandatum est Petro Wintoniensi episcopo per literas domini regis patentes quod, per visum viridariorum, forestariorum, et aliorum proborum et legalium hominum de ballivâ Willielmi Briwere, vendi faciat totum subboscum in forestâ domini regis quæ vocatur la Bere, et denariis inde provenientibus fieri faciat magnam aulam regis in castro Wintoniæ. Teste rege apud Ottington. 10 Jun."

Rot. Liberat. 17 *Hen. III. mem.* 6. "De aulâ regis apud Wintoniam. Mandatum est vicecomiti Suhampt' quod, sicut magister El' de Derham ei scire faciat, prosterni faciat in boscis de Digerle, Finkel, et Chette, ad meremium ad operationem aulæ castri Wintoniæ, et illud cariari faciat usque Wintoniam ad eandem operationem; et custum etc. computabitur. Teste rege apud Wudestok' 20 die Jun."

Id. eod. an. "Mandatum est vicecomiti Suhamt quod cameram regis lambruscatam de castro Wintoniæ depingi [faciat] eisdem historiis et picturis quibus fuerat prius depicta. Et custum etc. Teste etc. Kideminstre. 3 Jun."

Id. eod. an. "Mandatum est ballivis Wintoniæ quod de firmâ villæ suæ faciat habere majori Wintoniæ, custodi operationis aulæ castri Wintoniæ, denarios ad eandem operationem. Et computabitur" etc.

Id. eod. an. "Rex baronibus suis de Scaccario salutem. Computate vicecomiti Suhamt' denarios quos per visum et testimonium legalium hominum posuerunt in operatione aulæ castri Wintoniæ præter (?) denarios qui provenient de venditione subbosci regis de la Bere. Teste rege apud Lamph' (*Lambeth*). 3 Nov."

Id. eod. an. "Mandatum est vicecomiti Suhampt' quod in camerâ regis depictâ infra castrum Wintoniæ, quæ nimis obscura est, fieri faciat fenestras secundum dispositionem magistri Elyæ de Dereham et lambrescuram ejusdem depingi faciat de viridi colore. Et custum etc. Teste rege apud Wudestok'. 21 Jun."

Rot. Cancell. 18 *Hen. III.* "Willielmo le Petit, majori Wintoniæ, et aliis custodibus operationis aulæ regis Winton. ad eandem operationem, 100 marcas per breve regis; et in meremio regis et petrâ et aliis necessariis ad

[a] It must not be supposed that the "justitia" here mentioned was *necessarily* executed in the hall, or even in the castle.

operationem aulæ castri regis Winton cariandis usque Winton ad eandem operationem, 20*l.*, per breve ejusdem; et in quâdam aleiâ faciendâ inter cameram regis in castro Winton et capellam S. Thomæ, 28*l.* 1s. 7d., per breve ejusdem et per visum et testimonium Will. Dureward et Will. clerici; et in petrâ franchiâ de petrâ de Cadamo (*sic.*) ad magnam portam castri regis Winton et Porcester, 100s. de eodem tempore." etc.

Id. 19 *Hen. III.* "Magistro Elyæ de Derham ad operationem aulæ castri Wintoniæ, 40*l.* per breve ejusdem. . . . . In quâdam novâ coquinâ faciendâ juxta magnam coquinam ibidem versus austrum, et quodam muro inter aulam et magnam coquinam, et buteleriâ et dispensâ faciendis juxta prædictam (aulam) versus aquilonem, et in corpore magnæ capellæ ibidem lambruscando et duobus altaribus erigendis in eâdem capellâ et imaginibus beatæ Mariæ et beati Thomæ martiris faciendis et in eâdem capellâ ponendis, 286*l.* 17s. 7d. per breve regis et per visum (*ut supra*), et in uno bono et conveniente camino in magnâ camerâ ibidem faciendo, 24*l.* per breve, etc. et in eo quod restabat depingendum in camerâ castri Winton. depingendo . . . . . et cuidam capellano idoneo ad celebrandam singulis diebus missam beatæ Mariæ in magnâ capellâ castri Winton, qui singulis annis debet recipere 50s. pro liberatione sua, 37s. 6d. de tribus partibus anni, per breve etc. . . . . et in liberatione capellani ministrantis in capellâ S. Thomæ in castro Winton, 50s."

In another part of the roll the sheriff accounts for a sum of 160*l.* received "ad operationes aulæ et castri Winton."

Rot. claus. 19 *Hen. III. p.* 1. *mem.* 20. "Mandatum est Michaeli de Columbar' quod in brullio de Digerle faciat habere vicecomiti Suhampt' mœremium ad quandam novam coquinam faciendam infra castrum Winton, et quandam butillariam et despensam faciendam ibidem, et ad quendam pontem turneicium, et ad gistas et planchias duarum turellarum et quandam cameram faciendam ultra portam ejusdem castri; ita quod de mœremio, quod ei ad hoc habere fecerit, fiat tallia inter ipsum Michaelem et prædictum vicecomitem. Teste rege apud Wintoniam, 8 Jan."

Rot. claus. 20 *Hen. III.* "Mandatum est Avic' de Columbariis quod faciat habere constabulario castri Winton in forestâ regis de Finkel' et Derhel' 16 copulas ad dispensam regis in prædicto castro faciendam, et totidem copulas ad salsariam regis ibidem. Teste &c. Wudestok, 9 Nov."

Id. eod. an. "Mandatum est vicecomiti Suhampt' quod operariis aulæ Wintoniæ, de quibus operationibus penes se habet litteras regis de allocatione, sine dilatione et difficultate reddat arr[eragia] quæ eis debentur de stipendiis suis, fi' fac' operationes in castro regis Wintoniæ fid' (?) quod magister Elyas de Derham, cui rex voluntatem suam plenius exposuit, ei dixerit. Teste rege ap. Clarendon, 14 Feb."

There are other writs on the roll of this year respecting the works at Winchester.

Rot. Cancell. 20 *Hen. III.* "Et cuidam capellano celebranti missam beatæ Mariæ in magnâ capellâ castri Wintoniæ per H. vicecomitem pro liberatione suâ 25. s. de primo dimidio anno, sicut continetur in rotulo precedenti.

Et Rogero comiti Wintoniæ 100 s. nomine comitis per eundem de eodem tempore, sicut continetur ibidem. Et in liberatione capellani ministrantis in capella S. Thomæ in eodem castro 25 s. de eodem tempore. Et in capellâ Thomæ in castro Wintoniæ dealbandâ et lineandâ, et pro quâdam parvâ cruce cum Mariolâ et Johanne emptâ et positâ super magnum altare, et quâdam perticâ depictâ ponendâ ante idem altare ad cereos super eam figendos, et quodam fonte ad baptizandum in eâdem capellâ faciendâ, et in lambruschuram cameræ regis depictæ ibidem Veteri Testamento et Novo depingendo, et fenestris ejusdem cameræ ferro barrandis et depingendis ad modum fenestrarum aulæ regis ibidem, et tribus herbariis in eodem castro faciendis, et capitibus lapidibus in eadem aulâ et botillis ligneis sitis in trabibus deaurandis, eâdem aulâ dealbandâ et lineandâ, et quodam muro de petrâ et calice inter prædictam capellam et prædictam aulam et consimil muro inter eandem aulam et coquinam faciendis, 48*l.* 5s., per breve regis et visum et testimonium Will'. clerici et Will' Dureward; et in quodam banco et quâdam sede ad opus regis faciendis ad capud aulæ regis versus orientem, 106s. 3d. per breve regis per visum et testimonium prædictorum W. et W; et in utensilibus domini regis coquinæ cariandis a castro Wint'. usque 3s. 6d. per breve regis summa 58*l.* 18s. 9d. . . . . .

Et in elemosinâ constitutâ militiæ de Templo per v[isum?] vicecomitis de anno integro unam marcam. Et in liberatione duorum capellanorum, sicut supra continetur, 50s. de ultimo dimidio anno. Et Rogero comiti Winton 10*l.* nomine comitis de toto anno, sicut continetur in rotulo precedenti. Et in 10 quercubus prosternendis in forestâ regis de la Bere quas rex dedit fratribus prædicatoribus Wintoniæ ad focum suum, et cariatis usque Winton ad domum eorundem, 50s. per breve regis. . . . . Et in uno solario novo in camerâ regis apud Winton faciendo, et alluris castri ibidem faciendis, 69*l.* 6s. 4d. per breve regis in quo continetur quod istas operationes faceret et alias quamplures quas non fecit, per visum Henrici Parmentarii et Ricardi le Paumer. Et in quâdam tabulâ ponendâ ultra magnum altare capellæ S. Thomæ in castro Winton gabulo, et in Majestate Domini depingendâ et tribus tabulis faciendis et ponendis ante tria altaria, et tribus tabulis faciendis et ponendis super eadem altaria in eâdem capellâ. Et in sede reginæ faciendâ in eadem capellâ et in ipsâ capellâ dealbandâ, et in camerâ, ubi rex natus fuit, depingendâ viridi colore secundum ordinationem magistri Eliæ de Derham; et in verinis ad fenestras aulæ regis faciendis; et in domo inter aulam et coquinam regis ibidem cooperiendâ; et in Rotâ Fortunæ depingendâ in gabulo ejusdem aulæ versus orientem, 28*l.* 5s. 2d. per breve regis per visum et testimonium prædictorum H. et R. Operariis operationum regis in prædicto castro de liberationibus suis, quæ eis debebantur post recessum Henrici filii Nicholai de prædicto castro, 38*l.* 18s. 6d. per breve ejusdem de computate. Et in emendatione domorum regis in castris Winton et Portesmue 100s. de eodem tempore. Summa, 117*l.* 19s. 4d. quod supra debet allocari; et alloc[atur] ei infra in summâ debitorum suorum sicut continetur ibidem."

Rot. Liberat. 21 *Hen. III.* "Rex vicecomiti etc. Præcipimus tibi quod

poni facias quandam trabem in capellâ beati Thomæ Martiris in castro nostro Wintoniæ, quæ contingat utrumque parietem sedis nostræ et reginæ nostræ, videlicet, ab uno pariete usque ad alterum, et in medio trabis erigatur crux quædam cum imaginibus Mariæ, Johannis, et duorum Angelorum. Domum regis, quæ erecta est in medio castri prædicti, cooperiri facias de azeys, et murum inceptum circa illam domum claudendam perfici facias in formâ quâ murus inceptus. Lapides regis qui sunt apud Suhampt' et venerunt de Purebec ad operationem castri nostri Wintoniæ sine dilatione cariari facias usque Wintoniam et eos custodias donec aliud inde præceperimus. Et custum etc. Teste ap. Kenynt[on] 3 April."

Rot. Cancell. 21 *Hen. III.* "In cancello capellæ Sĉi Judoci in castro Wintoniæ, quod rotundum est, prosternendo, et illo quadrato cum corneriis faciendo quantum se extendit longitudo ejusdem cancelli ad latitudinem ejusdem capellæ, et cumulo ejusdem capellæ prosternendo, et muris ejusdem exaltandis, agistandis, et planchiandis; et duâbus capellis ibidem faciendis cum pulcris fenestris, unâ superius ad opus reginæ et aliâ inferius ad opus familiæ regis, 156*l.* 17s. 4d. per breve regis et per visum etc. Et in emendatione turris Winton et aliarum domorum in castris Winton et Porcestr', 10*l.* . . . . . Et in quâdam trabe ponendâ in capellâ beatæ Thomæ Martiris in castro Winton quæ contingat utrumque parietem sedis regis et reginæ, videlicet, ab uno pariete usque ad alterum, et quâdam cruce cum imaginibus Mariæ, Johannis, et duorum Angelorum erigendis &c." (*as in the writ above.*) The chaplains of St. Mary and St. Thomas are paid as before, and the chaplain of St. Judoc is paid out of the farm of the city, the payment being allowed to them in account with the king.

Rot. Liberat. 23 *Hen. III. mem.* 3. "Rex Vic' Suhamt' salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod emi facias quendam calicem ad capellam reginæ nostræ in castro nostro Wintoniæ, et alios defectus ejusdem capellæ et aliarum duarum capellarum nostrarum de eodem castro suppleri facias, ut in vestimentis, libris, et toallis, et aliis ornamentis necessariis; et custum, quod ad hoc posueris usque ad summam 10*l.*, computabitur tibi ad scaccarium. Teste rege apud Winton. 7 Oct."

Id. eod. anno mem. 8. "Rex custodibus episcopatûs Wintoniæ salutem. Præcipimus vobis quod quandam domum fieri faciatis de sappo currentem super sex rotas, et eam plumbo faciatis cooperiri; et lambruscari faciatis porchiam capellæ reginæ in castro nostro Wintoniæ, et similiter longam aleam a capellâ prædictâ usque ad cameram nostram ibidem; et similiter lambruscari faciatis aleam quæ est inter cameram nostram et capellam Beati Thomæ ibidem; et fieri faciatis quendam murum et quandam portam ante holliam coquinarum nostrarum ibidem, et quoddam herbarium et quendam murum in costerâ aulæ nostræ ibidem versus austrum; et reparari faciatis similitèr puteum nostrum in eodem castro, et quatuor imagines ad porchiam prædictæ aulæ nostræ emi faciatis, et Mappam Mundi in aulâ prædictâ perpingi, et fenestras vitreas aulæ, capellæ, et camerârum, ubi necesse fuerit, reparari; et fieri faciatis quoddam cellarium subtus cameram reginæ nostræ, et

quasdam licias juxta murum infra curiam a capellâ reginæ usque ad hostium aulæ, et murum magnæ turris plumbo faciatis cooperiri. Et custum etc. Teste etc. Westm. 3 Aug."[b]

Id eod. anno mem. 26. "Henricus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ &c. vic. Suhamt salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod fieri facias in castro nostro Winton' retro capellam Sci Thomæ Martiris quandam cameram ad opus episcoporum et quoddam caminum et quandam cameram privatam in eâdem et quoddam appenticium juxta elemosinariam ad opus pauperum, et quoddam thupetum ad magnam coquinam nostram, et mantellum camini in camerâ reginæ nostræ fieri; et facias in eodem castro duas postes ante porticum aulæ nostræ et quandam cathenam ad easdem postes, et quoddam hostium in exitu aulæ versus cameram nostram et licias ante introitum aulæ et barreras extra pontem castri prædicti et palicium ex utraque parte ejusdem pontis; fieri et facias quandam Mariolam cum quodam magno tabernaculo ad capellam prædictæ reginæ nostræ et quandam tabulam depictam ante altare ejusdem capellæ. Et custum etc. Teste etc. Wudestok' 14 Nov."

Rot. Cancell. 23 *Hen. III.* "Et in quâdam camerâ in castro Winton' retro capellam S' Thomæ ad opus episcoporum, et quodam camino et quâdam camerâ privatâ in eodem castro, et quodam apenticio juxta elemosinariam ad opus pauperum, et quodam tupetto ad magnam coquinam, et mantello camini in camerâ reginæ, et duobus postibus ante porticum aulæ, et quâdam cathenâ ad eosdem postes et quodam hostio in exitu aulæ versus cameram regis, et liciis ante introitum aulæ et barreris extra pontem castri, et palitio ex utrâque parte ejusdem pontis, et quâdam Mariolâ et quodam magno tabernaculo ad capellam reginæ et quâdam tabulâ depictâ ante altare ejusdem capellæ faciendis, 52*l.* 8s. 7½d. per breve regis et visum et testimonium Henrici Parmentarii, et Ricardi Hostiarii. . . . . Et in Willielmo de Fonte cariando usque Oxoniam, quem Galfridus de Holewell probator appellavit de societate et latrocinio, et liberando ibidem vicecomiti dimidiam marcam[c]. Summa 54*l.* 14s. per breve regis, qui debent ei allocari ubi voluerit. Et allocantur ei infra in fine rotuli."

Rot. Liberat. 24 *Hen. III. mem.* 24. "Rex P. Peyure et Thomæ de Newerc custodibus episcopatûs Winton' salutem. Mandamus vobis quod in castro nostro Winton' fieri faciatis unum pontem turnerium cum unâ bretasch[d] desuper in introitu magnæ turris, et reparari faciatis sistras cameræ nostræ turris prædictæ ubi garderoba nostra esse consuevit; fieri et faciatis unum pulcrum porticum ante hostium capellæ Sci Judoci unâ cum quôdam clocherio ad capellam Sci Thomæ in eodem castro; lambreschari et faciatis aleam a camerâ nostrâ usque ad eandem capellam nostram; cooperiri et faciatis omnes domos ejusdem castri, et in eâdem fieri unum interclausum

[b] The execution of this writ does not appear on the Pipe roll, which chiefly (though not always or wholly) consists of sheriffs' accounts. The accounts of the guardian of the temporalties in the vacancy of a see are occasionally entered on the Chancellor's rolls, and, I presume, on the Pipe rolls.

[c] It will be seen in the rolls of this time and of the preceding reign of Hen. II., &c. that the keep and board of a probator or king's evidence was an habitual expense.

[d] A battlement or embrasure.

unâ cum duabus furnesiis in majori coquinâ et uno camino in camerâ nostrâ super porticum magnæ aulæ. Cariari et faciatis totam petram nostram quæ est apud Stanham usque ad prædictum castrum nostrum et ibi salvo deponi et meremium ad prædictas operationes faciendas capiatis in boscis prædicti episcopatûs ubi melius videritis expedire. Et custum etc. Teste ap Clarendon. 24 Nov."

Rot. Cancell. 24 *Hen. III.* No works are entered this year, but at the end of the roll is the following accóunt of Henry of Cerne.

"In operationibus castri Wintoniæ dum idem Henricus fuit custos operationum ejusdem castri, 1020*l.* 19s. 1d. per breve regis."

Id. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30. *Hen. III.* No material works.

Rotulus Magnus 31 *Hen. III.* "Quatuor capellanis in castro Wintoniæ 10*l.* . . . . . In reparatione domorum regis in castro Wintoniæ et renovatione picturarum earundem domorum, 26*l.* 17s. 10d. . . . . In quâdam novâ turri versus villam plumbo cooperiendâ et emendandâ, et aliis operationibus, picturis, et imaginibus contentis in brevi faciendis, 99*l.* 10s. 2½d."

Id. 32 *Hen. III.* Some repairs in the castle are specified.

Id. 35 *Hen. III.* "In novâ capellâ regis in castro Winton' depingendâ de historiâ Josepi, et eâdem capellâ tegulis pavandâ, et tabulâ juxta lectum regis depingendâ; fenestris ligneis faciendis in orielo capellæ reginæ, et reparatione camerarum ibidem, 35*l.* 19s. 3½d. . . . . In camerâ Rosamundæ depingendâ etc. 74s. . . . ."

The roll also mentions the fossatum, the great tower, the turris Judæorum, &c. A large payment towards the works out of the revenues of the bishopric is also mentioned.

Id. 37 *Hen. III.* "In aulâ castri Wintoniæ repingendâ, et emendatione turrium, et columpnis dictæ aulæ versus capellam cooperiendis plumbo, 34*l.* 11s. 0½d. per breve regis. . . . In turri capellæ regis in superiori parte castri regis prosternendâ et de novo reedificandâ, 863*l.* 19s. 0½d. per breve etc. . . . . In amotione terræ in fossato turris ejusdem castri versus beumunt[e], 4*l.* 6s. 8d. per breve etc."

Id. 39 *Hen. III.* "In fenestris vitreis faciendis in capellâ S. Katerinæ et eâdem capellâ lambruscandâ etc., 21*l.* 16s. 8d. per breve etc."

Some other repairs at Winchester and Freemantel are mentioned.

Id. 40 *Hen. III.* Some repairs, &c. "retro aulam."

Id. 41, 42 *Hen. III.* No repairs appear, but there is a "rotulus de operationibus" in the minister's accounts of this year. The hall is not mentioned in it.

Id. 43 *Hen. III.* "In capellis S. Katerinæ et S. Thomæ lambruscandis et fenestris in eisdem faciendis cum imaginibus, et aliis operationibus, 233*l.* 14s. 2½d."

[e] The Beumunt or Beumund seems to be the Beaumont or Belmont of some other castles, as at Oxford, &c. A house "super Beumund" is also mentioned in a rotulus de operationibus factis in castro Winton. 42 Hen. III. Minister's accounts among the Exchequer records.

Id. 44 *Hen. III.* "In renovatione picturæ aulæ regis in castro." Some other repairs are mentioned.

Id. annis 45, 46, 47, 48. No material works.

Id. 49 *Hen. III.* The farm of the city is reduced for this and five following years "propter jacturis (*sic*) et dampnis quæ communitas civitatis Winton sustinuit pro rege tempore turbationis habitæ in regno."

Id. 51 *Hen. III.* The castle is fortified by William de Valentiis, the king's brother.

Id. 52 *Hen. III.* Some repairs mentioned. The stipend of the chaplain of S. Judoc was 40s. per annum.

Id. annis 53, 54, 55 *Hen. III.* No material entry of works.

Id. 56 *Hen. III.* The king, reciting the impoverished and ruinous state of the city, reduces the feefarm rent from 80*l.* to 100 marks for 20 years next after 50 Hen. III. This was confirmed in 1 Edw. III., and has continued to the present time.

Rot. Cancell. 13 *Edw. I.* "In emendatione et reparatione domorum regis infra castrum Wint. et magni pontis prox' portam ejusdem castri, per visum, &c. 120*l.* 0s. 3d. per breve regis."

Rot. de operationibus 15 *Edw. I.* These are works at the castle, but the roll contains nothing of interest as to particular buildings.

Rot. de operationibus castri Wynton. 22 *Edw. I.* The works chiefly relate to the walls and fortifications, and the repairs are said to be done "in presentiâ domini Edmundi fratris domini regis." Among the expenses are "in 100d. de bordis emptis ad porchiam aulæ domini regis, 16s." and "in capellâ Sanctæ Mariæ cooperiendâ et aliis domibus castris cooperiendis" etc.[f]

Compotus ministrorum 15 *to* 16 *Ric. II.*—*Contrarotulus.* "In vadiis 13 carpentariorum reparantium et emendantium tam magnum pontem extra portam ejusdem castri quam magnam aulam infra eundem (*sic*) castrum etc. quolibet eorum per 74 dies, capiente quolibet per diem 3d.—12*l.* 0s. 6d."

The "turris vocat' Manesiestour infra castrum" occurs in this account.

Id. 18 *to* 19 *Ric. II.* "Computant in 30 lb. souduræ emptæ tam pro cooperturâ magnæ aulæ infra le Sherreveswarde quam diversarum turrium et domorum infra castrum prædictum. . . . . In vadiis magistri Willielmi carpentarii operantis circa reparationem murorum et fenestrarum tam prædictæ aulæ ibidem quam" etc.

"In vadiis Walteri carpentarii operantis ibidem tam circa facturam carpentar' de la soler et de la rofe dictæ aulæ infra le Shirreveswarde ibidem, quam circa gistyng dictæ turris vocatæ Mansiestor per 56 dies et ½, capiente

[f] There are two rolls of works without dates, which probably belong to the Winchester accounts of the reign of Hen. III., or Edw. I. The "aula in donjone" is mentioned. It should be noticed that this class of records is now under process of assortment, and can hardly be said to be at present fully known even to the keepers. They are at present under the care of Mr. Hunter, to whom I am indebted for a degree of assistance beyond the mere limits of his official duty.

per diem 3d.—14s. 1½d." There is also an entry of plumbers' work on the hall.

Id. 21 *Ric. II.* Another account of works at Winchester castle.

Rot. compotorum forinsecorum, or foreign accounts, 16 *to* 22 *Ric. II.* The part of the roll headed Southampton, is indorsed "De quâdam summâ 40 marcarum per regem concessâ civibus civitatis Wynton percipiendâ de firmâ dictæ civitatis super reparatione et emendatione murorum, turrium, portarum, pontium et domorum castri Wyntoniæ; per Jonannem Donyson et alios." By this roll it appears that the king had, by a writ anno regni 13, assigned 40 marks to be paid annually out of the city farm for seven consecutive years towards the above repairs. Among the works are the repairs "magnæ aulæ in superiori warda castri regis ibidem quasi de novo constructæ per breve regis de magno sigillo suo dat. 8 April anno 13.

By a roll headed "London" John Thorp accounts for a sum of 7*l.* 6s. 8d. advanced, anno regni 13, for works within the castle of Winchester. The expenses are as follow:

"Idem computat in 20lb. solduræ, 10ml. clau' plumbi empti et expenditi super reparationem duorum *iles* magnæ aulæ plumbo coopert' et gurgit[um] eorundem *iles* unâ cum vadiis plumbariorum operantium ibidem tam circa discooperationem tecti plumbei dictorum *iles*, ac jacturâm et de novo positionem ac facturâm gurgitum eorundem *iles* inter prædictum 13 diem Julii anno 13° et festum Sancti Michaelis prox' sequens, 7*l.* 6s. 8d., juxta formam brevis regis supradicti, sicut continetur in dictâ cedulâ de particulis."

Particulæ compoti ballivorum civitatis Wintoniæ, 3 *to* 4 *Hen. VI.*—This roll of particulars recites a writ under the great seal, dated 22 Feb. 2 Hen. VI., which, like the one in the reign of Rich. II. already referred to, assigned an annual sum out of the city farm for seven years towards the repair of the castle. It mentions plumbers' work on the roofs of the hall, &c.

Similar parcels or particulars of accounts, 4 to 5 Hen. VI., shew that shinglers were at work "super magnam aulam."

Another, 5 to 9 Hen. VI., is rendered by John Yerde, constable of the castle and controller of the works, and Nicholas Warner and William Fromond, bailiffs of the liberty of the city of Winton, "de diversis custubus et expensis per dictos ballivos factis circa reparationem et emendationem castri domini regis Wintoniæ in diversis partibus tam in muris et pontibus quam in diversis partibus ejusdem." The following entries occur:

"In uno plumbatore conducto ad emendandum et soudandum diversos defectus plumbi super magnam aulam et turrim in wardâ vicecomitis ex conventione, &c. 5s. 10d."

"In 2000 shingelles emptis de Johanne Colpays ad reparandum magnam aulam in castro prædicto, per 1000, cum cariagio de Suth Waltham usque castrum prædictum, 9s., 18s. . . . . In conventione factâ cum Roberto Gurdon et Thomam Frensshe, shingelers, ad cooperiendum dictam aulam cum prædictis 15000 shingelles, &c., 75s.; per 1000, 5s."

A similar account, 6 to 7 Hen. VI., contains expenses "in reparatione

muri in parte boreali magnæ aulæ in castro"; also for shingles for the great hall.

An account of 7 and 8 Hen. VI. has an entry of the expense of a scaffold, "pro facturâ, emendatione, et reparatione muri in boreali parte magnæ aulæ." . . . . "In petrâ vocatâ Beerston, pondere &c. emptâ pro crestis inde factis ad murum prædictum cooperiendum, 17s. 4d." . . . . "In diversis defectibus super turrim vocatam *Manyson's tour*, et in parietibus boreali et australi magnæ aulæ."

Rot. compot. forinsec. temp. Hen. VIII., Ed. VI., Mary and Elizabeth.—"Wynchestre. Johannes Daunce, miles, R. Blagge, baro Scaccarii, auditores virtute actûs parliamenti in hâc parte editi. Compotus Willielmi Grene per dominum regem et consilium suum ore tenus appunctuati et assignati ad reparandum et emendandum aulam domini regis infra castrum regis de Wynchestre et le *round table* ibidem."

(The roll refers to a certain "quaterna papiri," with the particulars of the purchases, names, and wages of artificers, &c. delivered to the treasury. It is thus indorsed: "Fora [*i. e. forinseca*] de anno XII^mo. regis Henrici VIII. Ex parte nigrâ[g]. De receptis et solutionibus circa reparationem aulæ regis infra castrum de Wynchestre et le round tabyll ibidem inter festum sancti Bartholomæi apostoli anno VIII^vo. et ultimum [diem] Januarii tunc prox' sequentem. Per Willielmum Grene."

Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. II. p. 242.—The following is an abstract of a report of Sir Richard Norton and other commissioners to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, 31 January, 1570, containing a survey of the castle:—

The ditch and rampire on the west contained three acres, and was then let to the mayor and corporation of Winchester at 20s. The castle green within the wall, including the walls, contained 1½ acre, let to the keeper of the hall at 10s. and to keep the hall clean against assizes and sessions. The ditch on the east side contained 1½ acre, let at 5s. per annum.

The fee of 6*l.* 13s. 4d. was formerly paid to the custos or constable of the castle.

The corporation had voluntarily spent 14*l.* in the repair of the middle roof of the hall. The queen had expended money in the repair of the south aisle of the hall. The north aisle was ruinous and in want of immediate repair.

The report recites a grant, dated 4 May, 1 Eliz., to the mayor, bailiffs &c. of Winchester, of the office of constable of the castle and custos of the same, and all land and pasture within the castle called the "castle green," with all ditches within and without, called the "castle ditch," during pleasure, without account, reserving and excepting to the queen the fee of 6*l.* 13s. 4d., which the late constables, Thomas Uvedall and David Owen, received by the hands of the sheriff of Southampton.

Leger Book, vol. 5.—*Archives of the City of Winchester. Enrolment.*—This volume contains the following conveyances:

[g] My friend Mr. Cole, Assistant keeper of records, informs me that the "nigra pars" means the rough side of the parchment.

1. Conveyance by Thomas Muspratt and Edward Hooker, to the mayor, recorder and others, in trust for the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the city of Winchester and their successors for ever (in pursuance of a former trust) of the castle of Winchester "as it now stands defaced and erased," with the appurtenances commonly called the green and the castle ditch, containing by estimation eight acres or thereabouts, and various rents amounting to 15s. 2d., excepting "all that great hall, commonly called the great hall, within the walls of the castle," and the ground sold by Sir William Waller to certain feoffees in trust for the use of the county.—Date, 24 Sept., 30 Car. II.

2. Conveyance, by the mayor, &c., of Winchester to the Crown, of the above premises, excepting as in the last deed.—Date, 17 March, 35 Car. II.

THE NAMES, SURNAMES, AND NICNAMES OF THE ANGLOSAXONS.

Among the many difficulties which beset investigations in Anglosaxon history, the identification of persons who exercised, from time to time, no trifling influence upon the affairs of the several kingdoms, offers one of the most frequent; for example, it is in vain that we learn how Duke Ælfred, Patrician Æðelwold, or Wulfrîc the thane led an army *here*, or endowed a church *there*, if, as generally happened, there were half a dozen Ælfreds, Æðelwolds, and Wulfrîcs alive at the same period, in the same court, and enjoying the same rank, or discharging similar duties, as the king's or the people's officers, in different counties.

It is perhaps not very important, on most occasions, that such identification should be made: but there are unquestionably some events of Anglosaxon history which can only be well understood when we trace the private influences that produced them, and appreciate the steps by which they were gradually brought about. The persuasions of a favorite thane or abbat, the support or opposition of a powerful duke or bishop, had their weight a thousand years ago upon the prince, —the king whom they had made and could unmake,—as, *mutatis mutandis*, they now have upon a ministry; and in a country where every thing has been, and is, done *cum consensu, consilio et licentia procerum*, it sometimes becomes worth while to know who these *proceres* were, to what families they belonged, in what districts lay their hereditary or acquired power; and thus, mediately, to form conclusions respecting the private as well as public motives which induced their support of, or opposition to, public measures.

It is moreover indispensable to a clear view of the constitutional law and governmental institutions of this country, that we should not lose sight of the distribution of landed estates among the great families, and that the rise and fall of these houses should be carefully traced and steadily borne in mind.

In every country which has succeeded in developing a secure system of public law, based upon the cooperation of all

classes in the state, the land-divisions (*private estate, public land,* and *commonal rights*) have ever presented the most striking and important historical features, and in this country they may almost be called the key to every problem connected with the growth of our public life. Amidst all the tumult and confusions of civil and foreign wars; throughout religious and political revolutions; from the days of Arminius to those of Harald; from the days of Harald to our own; the successions of the landowners and the relations arising out of these successions, are the running comment upon the events of our national history: they are at once the causes and the criteria of facts, and upon them has depended the development and settlement of principles, in laws which still survive, in institutions which we cling to with reverence, in feelings which make up the complex of our national character.

It will be sufficient to recall attention for a moment to the intricate laws of descent and inheritance, to the conflicting tendencies of entail and alienation; to the *morgengyfu* or bride's morning gift, to the dowry and, in connection with these, her right to hold and to dispose of real estate; to testamentary dispositions, appanage and endowment; lastly, to a system of conveyancing by which all these and similar incidents of land may be securely provided for. It is impossible not to recognise the importance of these details to a critical investigation of our own law and, in some degree, to a proper appreciation of the facts of our history. Yet so meagre are the accounts which have descended to us, so little is contained on these important subjects, in the Codes of Law, so little aid, in short, is supplied by the ordinary sources of information, that nearly all the details we have noticed can only be satisfactorily investigated through an identification of persons whose names are found principally in charters, and whose relations we can only trace by means of diplomatical or charter evidence[a].

Another consideration still claims attention: it is, the use which may be made of those enquiries, to furnish merely diplomatical tests as to the authenticity of charters or the authority of chronicles. A monk whose pious care records the merits of benefactors to his abbey, by grave but not un-

[a] The charters I refer to throughout this paper are contained in the work, published by the Historical Society of England, under the title Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, opera I. M. Kemble, vol. i. 1836, vol. ii. 1840, vol. iii. 1845, vol. iv. 1846. They are cited by the numbers in that collection.

frequent blunders as to their parentage and social relations, may lead us to rank his gratitude above his judgment or his knowledge, and make us weigh with redoubled caution his assertions on disputed points of history; or to take another instance, where two chroniclers differ irreconcileably upon the important ground of chronology, and it becomes impossible by ordinary means to ascertain whether of the two is the better entitled to belief, the happy identification of a name or nickname in a charter may furnish the solution of the problem and help us to a wider induction for other and similar cases.

The reception or rejection of facts, highly important in historical enquiry, may possibly depend upon a due consideration of proper names. A familiar instance may be mentioned, where conclusions of an unusual and interesting character must stand or fall entirely by the accuracy with which we succeed in investigating the name borne by an individual. On the reception of Christianity by the king and people of Northumberland, the question arose "Who was to be charged with the demolition of the ancient fanes," and this brought forward an apostate priest, Coifi, who signalized his zeal for the new and contempt for the old worship by his readiness to undertake the task[b]. It has been asserted that Coifi is not a Saxon but a Cymric name; that it denotes in Welsh a druid, and consequently that we must admit many remarkable conclusions from the fact of a British druid occupying the position of high-priest in the Northumbrian court. No doubt we must, were the fact as stated, but it is not so, and Coifi is only an Anglosaxon nicname of easy translation. In the early dialect of Northumberland *oi* is invariably used to denote that *oe* or long *é* which arises out of the influence of *i* on *ó*[c]: the word then is only equivalent to Coefig or Cêfig, just as Coinræd in that dialect represents Cênræd in Westsaxon[d]. It is an adjective formed from côf, *strenuus*, and merely denotes "the bold or active one," an epithet not unsuited to an Anglosaxon heathen priest, whose sacred character was never more prominent than in the active duties of warfare.

A second case is also of some interest, and shall conclude the

[b] Beda, Hist. Eccles., lib. ii. cap. 13.

[c] I must take the liberty here of referring to a paper of my own in the Transactions of the Philological Society, on the peculiarities of the Northumbrian dialect of Anglosaxon.

[d] Some of the MSS. indeed read only Coefi, others Coefe, which when transformed into the usual Westsaxon notation is merely Cèfe.

observations I have to make on this part of the subject. Two among the early kings of Wessex are worthy of peculiar attention, viz. the celebrated sons of Cênberht, Cædwealha and his brother Mûl. Of the former it is known, that after a short and brilliant career of victory, he voluntarily relinquished the power he had won, became a convert to Christianity, and having retired to Rome, was there baptized by the name Petrus, and died while yet in the Albs, a few days after the ceremony. His brother Mûl, during their wars in Kent, suffered himself to be surprized by the country people, and was burnt to death, together with twelve comrades, in a house where they had taken refuge. At a subsequent period, Kent paid Ini, the cousin and successor of Cædwealha, 30,000 scæts, or 120 pounds, the proper *wergild* or compensation for the violent death of a kingly person. These details we gather from Beda[e] and the Saxon Chronicle[f]. From the latter, under the date 685, (and indeed from other trustworthy sources of information,) we learn that Cædwealha and Mûl were of the race of Cerdic, that is, the blood royal of Wessex, traced up in the paternal line. But the name Cædwealha is strange and suspicious: it is rather British than Saxon, and it was borne half a century earlier by a British king, who, in 633, united with Penda of Mercia against Eâdwini of Northumberland, and of whom Beda says[g]:

Rebellavit adversus eum Cædwalla rex Britonum, etc.

Again, it seems not altogether unimportant that, under the date of 681, the Brut y Tywysogion notes the death, *at Rome*, of Cadwallader, son of Cadwallon, son of Cadwal, on the 12th of May. The Annales Cambriæ, however, under date of 682, say:

Mortalitas magna fuit in Britannia, in qua Catgualart, filius Catgualaum obiit.

Other MSS. read:

Pro quâ Catwaladir filius Catwallaun, in minorem Britanniam aufugit,—and, Cadwalader rex Britanniam dereliquit, et ad Armoricam regionem perrexit.

Now as the Annales Cambriæ in all probability supplied Caradoc of Llancarvan (or whoever was the author of the Brut y Tywysogion) with his materials, and there is not only an

[e] Hist. Eccles., lib. v. cap. 7.
[f] Chron. Sax. an. 685, 686, 687, 688, and 694.
[g] Hist. Eccles., lib. ii. cap. 20.

obvious discrepancy between the Saxon and Welsh accounts [h], but a want of agreement between the Welsh accounts themselves, we may conclude, that in spite of the difference of eight years in the dates, Caradoc mistook Cædwealha for Cadwalader, and thus fully recognised the former as a British name. The name (or nicname) borne by his brother now becomes of some importance. It cannot denote anything but *mule*, ἡμιονος, the half-breed; and this seems to render it probable that the mother of these two princes was a Welsh, or at all events a British lady, to the cheerful assistance of whose countrymen, scattered over the face of Wessex and Sussex, Cædwealha may have been indebted for the rapidity of his success. And if, moreover, as would be likely, she should have been a Christian, we could the more readily account not only for his favourable treatment of his mother's creed before the period of his conversion [i], but also for his very sudden conversion itself.

Having thus very cursorily noticed the advantages to be derived from an examination and identification of names in Anglosaxon history, it remains to shew by what means such identification can in many cases be made; for which purpose it will be convenient to examine the general rules which govern proper names among that people, and the circumstances which appear to have given rise to surnames or nicnames, accompanying my remarks with such instances as appear necessary to illustrate the subject.

The number of proper names in common use among the Anglosaxon nobles or freemen, was not very large, at least during the true Anglosaxon period, when Celtic influence had nearly ceased in this respect, and Danish or Norwegian had hardly commenced. In this, as in every other detail of civilization, we trace the peculiar characteristics of various times and accidents. In the earliest period, when our documentary history first throws light upon the subject, there are still found names unintelligible to the Teutonic scholar, not to be translated or explained by anything found in the Teutonic languages,—nay only to be understood by reference to Cymric or Pictish roots [k]—and thus tending to suggest a far more general mixture of blood among the early conquerors, than

[h] The Saxon reckoning places Cædwealha's death at Rome, on April 20th, 689. Bed. Hist. Eccl., lib. v. c. 7.

[i] Beda's Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 16.

[k] Puch *comes*. Hist. Ecc., lib. v. 4. Pechthelm. *ibid.* v. 19. Padda. Oiddi, Hist. Ecc. iv. 13. Maban. *ibid.* v. 20. Uelhisc. Cod. Dip. No. 16. Pehthat *ibid.* No. 34. Pehthætius, No. 36. Cynyath, No. 42. Theabul, No. 43, etc.

has generally been admitted to have existed. At this period also many names are found, which, although not formed in consonance with the rules of any Anglosaxon dialect, do yet bear a very close resemblance to those of other low-German, continental tribes: while here and there, a very few indeed, recall the heroes of the German epos, and the eponymi of various low-German families[1]. Gradually, however, these names vanish, and a more regular system of genuine Anglosaxon names prevails. Again, from the time when the invasions of Ingwar and Guthorm, and the victories of Cnut prepared the way for the eventual triumph of the Normans, and during which that denationalizing process was going on which the false halo of Æðelstân's and Eâdgâr's reigns concealed, we find numerous instances of foreign names, uncouth to our English ears, but still naturalized among us[m]: till, in the closing twilight of our history, the Norman Tancreds, Rodberts, Wilhelms, Hugos and Gisos, teach us how rapidly we were preparing for the great catastrophe which was to extinguish the Anglosaxon name for ever.

As a general rule it may be asserted that pure Anglosaxon names are compounds, made up of two adjectives, as Æðelheâh, two substantives, as Wulf-helm, or an adjective and a substantive, as Æðel-stân, Wulf-heâh. I know no instance of a verb or particle entering into the composition of names. These compound words are translatable, intelligible, in other words their conjoint meaning depends upon the separate meanings of the words which unite to form them. They are, of course, inconvertible, that is, a woman's name cannot be given to a man, nor a man's name to a woman; a duke could as little be called Wulfrûn as his duchess Wulfhelm; as little could a monk be Eâdwên as a nun Eâdwine. Like all other compound words in Anglosaxon, these words depend for their grammatical character exclusively upon the second part of the compound: whence it follows, that the second word of an Anglosaxon male name must be masculine, and of a female name, feminine; but that in either case, a word of either gender may be used as the first part of the compound; while

[1] Becca or Beocca dux. Flor. Wig. 889. This is the Bikki of Norse tradition, the Sibicho of the old German. So in the Trav. Song. 137. Becca ruled the Banings. Perhaps, however, the name continued to be a diminutive, and the duke's real name was *Sifeca*. Other instances are Ætla a bishop, in 683; Cissa an anchoret, Flor. W. 714 etc.

[m] Ðurcytel, Oscytel, Tofig, Iric, Haldan, Harald, Scurfa, etc.

in no case can a neuter noun form the second, for although the general names of young creatures are properly of the undistributed, indefinite, or neuter gender, yet the name of the individual is given in contemplation of his living to be man or woman, and to exercise the functions of sex. A few examples may not be amiss here:

Terminations exclusively masculine;

Adjectives. Beald, Beorht, Fûs, Heâh, Rîc, Heard, Nôð.
Substantives. Bearn, Beorn, Gâr, Geld, Gisl, Helm, Hun, Here, Lâc, Man, Môd, Mund, Ræd, Sige, Stân, Weald, Weard, Wig, Wine, Ðegn.

Terminations exclusively feminine.

Adjectives. Swîð.
Substantives. Burh, Hâd, Gyfu, Læd, Hild, Rûn, Waru, Wên, Ðryð[n].

A few words can be used only in the first part of the compound; as Eâd, Os, God, Beado, Heaðo, Cyne, Eormen, Eorcen; others are found only in the second, as Gyfu, Waru, Ðegn.

The strict rule followed in Roman proper names is well known, and of eminent advantage to us in tracing the shifting features of their civil policy. The tendencies of a Cornelius we expect to be the same, whether he be a Scipio or a Sylla, and although we may admire, we cannot but wonder at, a Gracchus who deserts the ancestral policy of the Sempronii[o]. In Greek names the rule is much more fluctuating; yet even

[n] Many of these recall the times of the old heathen feeling, being in general appellatives of the Wælcyrian, or *Shieldmays*, those maidens to whom it was committed to select the slain in battle. And a truly beautiful thought this was, worthy to be long perpetuated: the most beautiful, for such were the *Shieldmays*, acted as mediators between the generous love of action in man and the completion of his desire, in a realm to which they alone held the key: its door was death. The greatest or most beautiful hero fell first, because his proper place was not here, but in Wælheal, the life to come, because no fate was so noble as that of falling in fair fight. I cannot resist citing a passage which shews how deeply this feeling still worked under all the superinduced mildness of Christianity, even to a very late period. Henry of Huntingdon, in the sixth book of his history, relates of Sigeward, the great duke of Northumberland (the Siwerd of Shakspeare's Macbeth) that having lost his son in battle, he asked "Recepit ne vulnus lethale in anteriori vel posteriori corporis parte? Dixerunt nuntii, in anteriori. At ille, Gaudeo plane, non enim alio me, vel filium meum digner funere." In 1055 however, this great duke, oppressed with sickness, found that his wish was not to be fulfilled. "Siwardus, consul rigidissimus, profluvio ventris ductus, mortem sensit imminere, dixitque: Quantus pudor me tot in bellis mori non potuisse, ut vaccarum morti cum dedecore reservarer. Induite me saltem lorica mea impenetrabili, præcingite gladio, sublimate galea: scutum in læva, securim auratam mihi ponite in dextra, ut militum fortissimus modo militis moriar. Dixerat, et ut dixerat, armatus honorifice spiritum exhalavit." In every word of this breathes the old heathen spirit of Haralldr Hilditaun, and one feels that to Christianity only we owe it that Sigeweard did not prevent an inglorious by a voluntary violent death.

[o] When a third name existed, it was often of the nature of a nicname, perhaps originally, exclusively so. Cicero, Crassus, Balbus, Piso, Merenda, Brutus, Ahenobarbus, are familiar instances.

here we frequently find the grandson bearing the name of his grandsire; and thus a kind of cycle arises, which in many cases enables us to identify family relations in connection with political tradition, which we might otherwise attempt to trace in vain. The Anglosaxon proper names have also very frequently a law of recurrence, though not exactly of the same kind as the Greek, and far removed from the systematic and political method of the Romans. It shews itself in the continued repetition of the first part of the compound in the names borne by members of the same family. I do not mean to lay to their charge any of that affectation which Aristophanes sneers at in his φειδιππιδης[p], yet I think it evident that a great family often desired to perpetuate among its branches, a noble name, which was connected with the glories of the country, and had been distinguished in the arts of war or peace, by military prowess or successful civil government. It is not at all improbable that originally the adjective æðel, and the substantive êðel, entered into the composition of merely noble names[q]; but in any period of which history takes cognizance, this distinction, if indeed it ever existed, is entirely lost. So common in fact are names compounded with those words, that the attempt to perpetuate the form as a distinctive one would have been completely abortive; for every noble house at least must have claimed the right to use both the adjective and noun, and endless as the number of Æðelhelms, Æðelbealds, Æðelðryðs, and Æðelstâns now is, the confusion then would have been ten times worse confounded. In other names, however, the reproduction of the first word of the compound is distinctly perceptible; I mean that in one family we shall find in succession or simultaneously, Wigmund, Wighelm, Wiglâf, Wihstân; or Beornrîc, Beornmôd, Beornheâh, Beornhelm. A few examples drawn from history will make this abundantly clear.

Eormenrîc was the father of Æðelberht, the first Christian king of Kent: Æðelberht's son Eâdbald had issue sons, Eorcenberht and Eormenræd; of Eormenræd's six children three have their names compounded with Eormen, three with Æðel; thus, Eormenberg, Eormenburh, Eormengyð, Æðelðryð, Æðelræd, Æðelbeorht. Eorcenberht's daughters were Eorcengote and Eormenhild.

[p] Aristoph. Nephel.

[q] Perhaps even still earlier, Eormen, Eorcen, and Sigu, were equally or even more restricted.

Of the seven sons of Æðelfrið, king of Northumberland, five bore names compounded with Os[r], thus Oslaf, Oslâc, Oswald, Oswiu and Oswidu. In the successions of the same royal family we find the male names, Osfrið, Oswine, Osrîc, Osræd, Oswulf, Osbald, and Osbeorht, and the female name Osðryð: and some of these are repeated several times.

St. Wigstân was the son of Wigmund, the son of Wiglâf, king of Mercia: (Flor. Wig. a. 850:) and the sons of Æðelwine, duke of Eastanglia, were Æðelwine, Æðelwold, Ælfwold, and Æðelsige. His grandson again was Æðelwine.

Lastly, Ælfred's son, Eâdweard, married Eâdgyfu: their children were Eâdwine, Eâdmund, Eâdred, and Eâdburh. Eâdmund's children again were Eâdwig and Eâdgâr. Eâdgâr had children, Eâdweard, Eâdgyð, and Eâdmund. Their brother Æðelræd had six children, four of whom retained the characteristic Eâd; thus, Eâdmund, Eâdwig, Eâdgyð, and Eâdweard. His son Eâdmund again had two sons, Eâdmund and Eâdweard; and the son of the latter was the too celebrated Eâdgâr Æðeling, who failed to strike a noble, though perhaps it would have been an unsuccessful, blow for the independence of his country.

The observation of this law, which need not be pursued farther, sometimes leads to results of interest. For instance, in the year 905 was fought the ruinous battle of the Holm, in which the power of Kent was routed by the Danes. It is stated that the dukes Sigewulf and Sighelm, as well as Sigeberht, Sigewulf's son, fell in this celebrated conflict. Now all these noblemen and their ancestors can be traced in various documents, even up to that Sigeræd, who in the year 762 calls himself king of half Kent. (Cod. Dipl. Nos. 110, 114.) This, taken in connexion with other facts, renders it probable that in many cases, the ducal power was merely a continuation, in the same families, of kingly authority. The small kingdoms became, indeed, swallowed up in larger and more powerful realms, but nevertheless the mediatized princes, to use a modern term, exercised till the last an inherited

[r] Os *semideus*, Gothic Ans; thus AS. Oslâf, Goth. Ansiláibs. This word is nearly peculiar to the royal (godborn) race of Northumberland, and occurs rarely in the south of England; and where it does it is rather of Jutish or Angle than Saxon character. Osburh, Ælfred's mother, was the daughter of Oslâc, who was of the noble Jutish race of Stuf, (Flor. Wig. a. 849,) and as an Osferð appears as a considerable legatee in Ælfred's will (Cod. Dip. No. 314.) By the title of his mæg or cognatus, there is every probability that he was a near connexion of the queen.

authority, of which the power of the king himself was by no means independent.

Having said thus much of the regular Anglosaxon proper names, we can proceed to the sur and nicnames which we find in use among them; and the great number of these which can be traced, leads irresistibly to the conclusion that they were extremely numerous at all periods.

It seems to follow naturally from the prevalence of a few names, that other means of distinction must be resorted to than were originally contemplated. A single household knows its own Ælfred or Eâdwig, its Henry or William; but the moment two families come into contact, a difficulty arises which must be obviated. This may be accomplished in various ways. Men are distinguished by their family relations as sons, brothers, fathers: by their rank, by their personal or mental peculiarities, and by their residence. Any one of these specialties is sufficient to create a *sur* or additional name, by which an individual man may be singled out from the mass of his fellows.

The simplest form of all seems to be that which is now generally adopted throughout Europe, where the name of the father is added to that of the son, as a distinction; where in short, direct descent carries the name with it. And this is necessary because we may require for many important purposes, to distinguish a person before he has sons or brothers, peculiarities of mind or body, or a residence of his own, but not before we can identify him as the offspring of a father. Only where the father dare not or will not be known, can he bear another name—often his mother's: but this is a case of exception in the sternest sense; and for all purposes of our ancient law, and in respect of landed estate, the man who does not bear his father's name is incapable of civil rights, and absolutely *nullius filius:* he is not a member of a family, the first unit in the state; and the state, not finding him duly enrolled among its members, ignores his existence for all the most important purposes of its own being.

Among the Anglosaxons we find no such strict and general provisions as now exist. Here and there the father's name is added to the son's, but arbitrarily and accidently, and merely because in some particular instance, that mode of distinction seemed preferable to others that might have been selected. In the year 804 we find among several Eâdberhts

in the same court, that one is pointed out as Eâdgâring, or the son of Eâdgâr; among several Æðelheâhs one is Esning or the son of Esne (Cod. Dip. No. 186.) This Eâdgâr had probably been a man of some celebrity; and Esne was a famous Mercian duke, and thus very sure to identify his son in the remembrance of his old comrades. But this differs entirely from the transmission of one name through a succession of sons; the son of Eâdberht would be Eâdberhting, no longer Eâdgâring: the son of Æðelheâh Esning would be Æðelheâging. This forms then no step in the transmission of names from generation to generation, which can only become possible when a surname has arisen which has no reference to each particular case. If Fitzwilliam or Fitzhugh were to mean literally in every generation the son of William or Hugh, it is clear that every son must bear that name, and there could be no distinction. For a while we might maintain the succession of William Fitzwilliam, but at length we should find a Gilbert or Henry Fitzwilliam necessary, and the next step would be Fitzgilbert or Fitzhenry. In the case of Eâdberht and Æðelheâh there is no evidence that the custom of distinguishing them by their father's names was general, though it is probable that it was so. Another instance, however, is clear and decisive as to the custom: Cod. Dipl. No. 741, contains a grant to a certain thane,

Ministro qui Leófwine nomine, et Bondan sunu appellatur cognomine.

Again, where in a small court two persons are found bearing the same name, but not holding the same rank, their titles are a sufficient distinction: one is princeps, dux, or præfectus: another miles, minister, or pedissequus. But let the lower once rise to the same rank as the higher, and we at once find him designated by some peculiar name which prevents confusion. What will that name be?

In a society where the members are all upon tolerably equal terms (and this the comites or household of a prince must be, until personal wealth becomes the arbiter of social position) and where the number of the comites is not very large, the corporeal form, habits, or character of the man, will most probably be the foundation of his peculiar name. And in such a society most easily arises another form of name, viz., the nickname, which if it sometimes marks the evil, far more frequently notes the good side of human feeling, and springs from a

familiar, goodhumoured, and often sportive intercourse between the members of a small circle.

For the purposes of the present enquiry, I shall divide these names into two classes, 1st, Surnames, or names used together with the baptismal name, and 2nd, Nicnames used instead of the baptismal name.

Beda (Hist. Eccl. v. 10) supplies what may be called the leading authority on the subject of surnames. Speaking of the missionary apostols of the old-Saxons, he says:

> Erant autem unius ambo sicut devotionis, sic etiam vocabuli: nam uterque eorum appellabatur Hewald, ea tamen distinctione, *ut pro diversa capillorum specie, unus niger Hewald, alter albus Hewald diceretur.*

This brings us back to the year 692. The following names seem equally referable to personal peculiarities: Godwine Rust. Cod. Dipl. No. 732. Toui hwîta. Toui reâda, *ibid.* No. 743. Brihtrîc geonga, *ibid.* No. 747. Ðurcyl hwîta. Ðurcyl blâca. Godwine reâda. Ælfheâh, the xxiii[d] bishop of Winchester, is designated as Calvus. Æðelflæd hwîte, or Æðelfleda candida, Flor. Wig. a. 964. Harald Hâranfôt or *Harefoot.* Eâdgyfu swanhals, *Edith the swan-necked.* Similar to this is the name Myranheâfod or *Mareshead,* borne by an Eastanglian Ðurcyl, either from some peculiarity of person, or perhaps some event of his life. Chron. Sax. a. 1010. Flor. Wig. in the same year says: quodam Danico ministro, Turkitelo cognomento Myrenheafod, vel *equæ caput,* fugam primitus incipiente. Henry of Huntingdon gives another but assuredly erroneous explanation of this name, *formicæ caput.* Other names are evidently derived from peculiarities of character: thus, Eâdmund îrensîda, or Ironside, the origin of which name we learn from Henry of Huntingdon, lib. vi.:

> Post quem Edmundus filius ejus electus est in regem, qui cognominatus est Irenside, id est, *Ferreum latus,* quia maximi vigoris, et mirabilis patientiæ bellicis erat in negotiis.

Eâdrîc streôna seems to have obtained his name, as the architect of his own fortunes. Streôna is literally *the acquirer,* from streôn, *treasure,* and streônan or strynan, *to acquire.* He became duke of Mercia, though said to be of humble birth, which I greatly doubt; vid. Flor. Wig. 1007. He was very probably of the old blood royal of Sussex, though reduced in fortunes, and the calumny seems in fact levelled by Norman flattery at his gallant but unfortunate grand-nephew, Harald. It was once the fashion to talk of the perfidious family of God-

wine, and his uncle could hardly hope to escape better than his son.

Eâdberht, the last true-born king of Kent, was surnamed Pren, or the priest, for he had been ordained. He was a near relative of Ecgberht of Wessex. The Chronicle of Winchcombe, a. 801, says:

Rex Merciorum Kenulfus regem Cantuariorum Eâdbrihtum, cognomento Pren, ligatum in Merciam duxit. Cui Cuthredus succedit.

Ðurcyl hoga (Cod. Dipl. No. 743) seems to mean the wise or considerate. Oda, archbishop of Canterbury, is called by the Latin chroniclers, *severus*, by the Saxons, se gôda, or the good. Ælfgâr (or as some call him, Wulfgâr) xxii[d] bishop of Litchfield, was surnamed se gyldena, *the gelden*, perhaps from his munificence. Ælfrîc Præt we are told, in the Vita Herewardi militis, derived his name from the stratagems with which he continually afflicted the Norman forces: præt signifying *ingeniosus, callidus*. Flor. Wig. a. 1006, tells us of a certain Godwine, who was called the "town-dog."

Quidam Scrobbesbyrigensis carnifex, Godwinus Porthund, id est, *Oppidi canis*.

The Norman lady Emma, queen to Æðelræd, and afterwards to Cnut, was known to the Saxons as Ælfgyfu, and sometimes uses both names, Cod. Dip. Nos. 727, 728; Chron. a. 1035. There are many more instances which cannot be so readily explained, from the obscurity of the words made use of in forming the surname: thus, in Cod. Dipl. No. 493, we have the thoroughly unintelligible name, Waðe hwæde, viscount or sheriff of Warwickshire: the only explanation I can venture is Waðe the gentle, but the name Waðe itself is an insurmountable difficulty. Osgod Clapa, I cannot explain: he is in other places designated by his rank as Osgôd steallere, Chron. 1044, 1047. Similarly Ælfstân steallere occurs, Cod. Dip. No. 775. Osgôd's daughter was married to Tofig the proud, as Florence Wig. a. 1042, says:

Danico et præpotenti viro Touio, Prûdan cognomento.

And this nobleman's name is found in Cod. Dip. No. 751, etc. I shall now conclude with a few more names, of which, at present, I can offer no explanation. Æðelwold Mol, a king of Northumberland, a. 759. Wulfstân Ucca or Uccea, Cod. Dip. Nos. 492, 591. Ælfnoð Pilia, *ib.* No. 492. Ægelrîc Bycga, *ib.* No. 791. Atsur Roda, *ib.* No. 775. Osulf Fila, *ib.* No.

778. Ælfrîcus Puttoc, Flor. Wig. a. 1023. Anfrid cognomento Ceocesfôt, Flor. Wig. a. 1052. Lastly, Benedict Biscop, of whom Florence says, a. 653:

Benedictus, cognomento Biscop, regis Osuuiu minister, nobili stirpe gentis Anglorum progenitus, etc.

Biscop is certainly a strange name to be borne by one who never enjoyed the episcopal dignity: it is impossible to explain it, but I must call attention to the fact that it occurs in the ancient genealogy of the kings of Lindissi, among the names of Wôden's descendants. They were probably Mercians, Flor. Wig. a. 677. If Biscop were a descendant of that race, stirps nobilis Anglorum indeed, Benedictus may have been only an additional name derived from his familiarity with, and frequent pilgrimages to Rome. A similar instance may be noticed in Beorhtgils, a bishop of Eastanglia, who was also called Boniface, and in the celebrated St. Boniface himself.

I now proceed to the second class of words, or nicnames, used not with, but in place of, the baptismal name. And here it is necessary to note the disadvantage which oppresses the modern enquirer, when he finds himself compelled to deal with words of this peculiar description. From their extremely familiar character, they are frequently unintelligible: they are not like the regular names compounded of words which may be translated whether singularly or combined; nor are they, for the most part, such words as occur in the polished language of literature. We seek them in vain in the poems and prose works of our forefathers, and from the almost continual uncertainty as to the quantity of their root-vowel, they defy the ordinary scientific processes of etymological enquiry. It is almost impossible to class them satisfactorily, but I will do what I can to throw them into separate groups, mentioning a few of the more prominent instances, and explaining them to the best of my ability.

The first group contains such words as denote endearment and affection. Speaking of the Kentish princess, Æðelburh, Beda (Hist. Eccl. ii. 9.) says:

Huic autem genti (i. e. Norðanhymbrorum) occasio fuit percipiendæ fidei, quod præfatus rex ejus cognatione junctus est regibus Cantuariorum, accepta in conjuge Adilbergæ, filia Adilberti regis, quæ alio nomine Tatæ vocabatur.

There are certain rules of euphony in Anglosaxon, which lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the vowel in the word

Tâte is long: and, therefore, although the word is not found in any Anglosaxon work, we can deal satisfactorily with it. According to another philological law, it answers to an old German *Zeiz*, an old Norse *Teitr*, and these adjectives denote *hilaris, jucundus, eximius*. Tâte must, therefore, be considered as a term of endearment given by her family to the lady. This instance carries us back to the close of the sixth and opening of the seventh century.

About the year 1013, shortly after the murder of Archbishop Ælfheâh, Lyfing, bishop of Wells, was raised to the metropolitan see of Canterbury. A few years later we find another Lyfing, bishop of Crediton, with which he united the sees of St. Germains and Worcester. Now the name Lyfing, or Leôfing, (as the archbishop more correctly signs himself,) is derived from the adjective Leôf, *carus*, and is thus strictly equivalent to deôrling or dyrling, *darling*, from deôre, *dear*. It is not in itself very probable that such would be a baptismal name: but in the case of the archbishop we are relieved from all doubt by finding in some copies of Florence of Worcester, the statement, "Livingus qui et Ælfstanus, Wyllensis episcopus," and in the Saxon Chronicle, a. 1019, Ælfstân arcebiscop, se wæs Lyfing genemned. We do not know what was the true name of the second Lyfing, but there can be no doubt that he had another. A somewhat parallel case is that of Ælfnær dyrling, a young noble mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, a. 1016; only it must be borne in mind that *dyrling* and *cild* are terms used to denote the young nobles of a house, perhaps exclusively the eldest son, on whom all expectation rests. To this day the Surrey swineherds call the smallest pig of the farrow, *the darling*.

I have already noticed the case of Æðelflæd hwîte, or, as Florence calls her, Ægelfleda candida, but I have still to call attention to another name this lady bore: it was that of Enede, or *the duck*[s]. I would rather believe that modern slang had an ancient foundation, than suggest that the lady's walk or gait had anything to do with this appellation.

Something of the same kind may possibly have given her nicname of Crâwe, *the crow*, to another lady, who, from the large legacy made to her, must have been near and dear to her relative the princess Æðelflæd, Cod. Dip. No. 685.

I hardly know whether the next instance which I am about

[s] Flor. Wig. a. 96.

to cite, is in fact referable to this class. If it be, it certainly speaks more for the simplicity than the delicacy of our Saxon forefathers. From a comparison of the charters, No. 82 and No. 124 in my collection, it appears that a lady, whose real name was Hrôðwaru, was better known by the familiar, though not very graceful name, of Bucge, *cimex;* perhaps upon the principle of that insect being also "a familiar beast and a friend to man." A second instance is found in the charter, No. 120, which, as it mentions the lady as married, can hardly refer to the same Hrôðwaru: for we cannot well consider her the lay proprietress of the monasteries mentioned in the charters, inasmuch as in No. 82 she is called not only *Abbatissa, but sanctimonialis.* We shall, therefore, with more probability, conclude that the persons so designated were not the same, although by so doing we shew that an epithet not pleasing to our modern ears, was given with some liberality at the beginning of the eighth century.

In the year 992, Florence of Worcester thus relates the death of Æðelwine, the great duke of East Anglia:

> Nec diu post excessum beati Oswaldi, egregiæ dux memoriæ Æðelwinus, *Dei amicus*, defunctus est.

It cannot surprize us to find this name of *Godwine* given by monkish gratitude to one who had been an eminent benefactor to the order. The duke does not indeed appear himself to have used it, as he always signs himself Æðelwine: but others were not so scrupulous, and there are several Godwines in high station, especially ecclesiastics, whose names we meet with from time to time in chronicles, or in the signatures to charters. In addition to two bishops of Rochester, the settlement of whose chronology is one of the greatest difficulties connected with the history of that see, we have a third, Sigerîc, *dei amicus,* the sixth bishop of Ramsbury in Wiltshire, and a fourth at Winchester of the same name. The Saxon Chronicle, however, sets us right as to the last prelate, and thus throws light upon the obscurity of Rochester. In recording the death of bishop Æðelwold in 896, and the election of Ælfheâh to the see of Winchester, the chronicler says:

> Ælfheâh seðe ôðran naman wæs geceiged Godwine,

that is to say, "Ælfheâh, who by another name was called Godwine." It is in the present state of our knowledge hope-

less to attempt the identification of any other Godwine whom we meet with in Anglosaxon history.

We will now pass to another group, which will comprise such nicnames as are merely diminutives, and which answer in fact to our Tom, Bob, and Bill. Such is the name Saba, which occurs in Beda, Hist. Eccl. ii. 5.

Quare non et nobis porrigis panem nitidum, quem et patri nostro Saba, sic namque illum appellare consuerant, dabas, et populo adhuc dare in ecclesia non desistis?

From the same chapter, however, and from other sources, we learn that this prince's name was really Saebeorht.

Between the years 732 and 764, the see of Leicester was ruled by a bishop who is called by nearly every contemporary authority, Totta. In a few MS. lists, however, his real or uncontracted name appears, and this is Torhthelm. In a most important public document of the year 742 (Cod. Dip. No. 87) he signs himself Torhthelm, in his proper place as bishop of Leicester. So again in Nos. 90 and 99: but in two doubtful charters, Nos. 102, 112, he calls himself Totta.

Nearly contemporary with him is a bishop of Selsey, whom all the authorities unite in calling Sicgga, and who in 742 signs by that name, (No. 87.) I do not doubt that this is merely a nicname, though it is not certain what name it represents. The traditions of Chichester point to Sigefriŏ, which might be admitted without scruple but for the occurrence in No. 90. of a signature, Sigibed episcopus. Still as other charters of the same date shew a Sigebed *comes*, it is possible that the episcopal title may have been given to Sigebed by mistake. Another Siga occurs in the history of Northumberland as a great noble: conf. Sim. Dun. 788, 793. Flor. Wig. 789.

In an entry under the year 801, Simeon of Durham says:

Eâdwine qui et Eda dictus est, quondam dux Northanhymbrorum:

This is obviously only a contraction of the full name, but still serves to suggest the origin of other Edas, Eadas, and Eatas that we meet with: for example, Eata, bishop of Hexham, in 677. In a charter of the year 1046, (Cod. Dip. No. 787,) we find the signature Æti archiepiscopus; now at this time Eâdsige was archbishop of Canterbury, so that if we admit the reading, we must also suppose Æti to be a contraction or nicname, from Eâdsige.

In the year 788 Simeon records a duke Ecga; it is difficult to say whether this is merely a diminutive form of Ecgwulf, or whether it must be classed with a different set of words to which attention will be called hereafter. There was a bishop of Lichfield, whose name is generally reported as Ælle: the very ancient MS. lists, however, say, Ælle qui et Ælfwine, and there can be no question that they are right, and that the word Ælle merely had its rise in a process of contraction.

It would be natural to apply the same reasoning to the name Odda[t], which is not uncommon in our early history, and to conclude it a contracted form of Ordgâr: and this assumes the more probability from our finding both names borne by dukes of Devonshire; one Odda, who in 878 valiantly resisted the Danish invasion; a second Ordgâr, who died in 971, nearly a century later, while yet eighty years later, in 1051, we find a third Odda in the same high situation. Yet in all probability this would be an erroneous induction: Florence of Worcester, in 1056, speaking of earl Æðelwine, says:

Comes Ægelwinus, id est Odda, ab Aldredo, Wigorniensi episcopo ante suum obitum monachizatus, apud Deôrhyrste decessit, sed in monasterio Persorensi honorifice sepultus quiescit:

which the Saxon Chronicle, under the same date, thus confirms:

Dæs geares forðferde Odda eorl, and his lîc lið on Perscoran; and he wæs to munece gehâdod ær his ende.

Another Odda minister, occurs in the Cod. Dip. Nos. 745, 755, 763, 766. I find a duke Dudda slain by the Danes about 835; also a Dodda minister, Cod. Dip. Nos. 768, 773: but I can offer no explanation of these names[u].

There yet remain several names which cannot easily be reduced under any general head, indeed many which are entirely unintelligible to me; but it is probable that they refer to peculiarities of person or character. We must be content to notice a few of these, and to convince ourselves that they are not the baptismal names of the parties who bore them. On more than one occasion, and even at distant periods of time, occurs the name of Wor. A duke of that name fell in battle in the year

[t] We must leave out of consideration the Odda of the Sax. Chron. a. 982: this is Otho, the German emperor.

[u] I hardly know whether we can trust the Cotton MS., Claud. B. vi.: if we can, and there is no hiatus, Dodda was the nicname of Æðelmær. Cod. Dip. No. 767.

802: he signs the charters No. 158, 180, the latter of which bears date in 801. In the boundaries of charters occur Wores sôl, *Wor's pool*, Wores leâh, *Wor's lea* or *meadow;* and at an early period of Anglosaxon history we find a bishop Wor, ruling the see of Lichfield from 721 to 737. In this capacity and with this name he signed the charters Nos. 75, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84. Yet Wor, whatever its meaning may have been, was only a nicname. This bishop's real appellative was Aldwine, or in some Anglosaxon dialects, Aldhun. Beda, in the conspectus which he gives of the ecclesiastical state of England in the year 731, when he finished his history, names Aldwine as bishop of the Mercians, whose see at that time was at Lichfield. Florence of Worcester, a. 731, copies Beda, but identifies Aldwine as bishop of Lichfield, by stating that Tâtwine was consecrated to Canterbury by him and other prelates:

Archiepiscopus consecratus est a Daniele Wentano, et Inguualdo Londoniensi et Aldwino Licetfeldensi, et Aldulfo Hrofensi antistitibus.

In all this Simeon of Durham coincides, a. 731, but a. 737, Simeon, whose accurate chronology and general information have not been duly valued, adds:

Aldwine, qui et Wor, episcopus defunctus est; et pro eo Hwitta et Totta Mercis et Middel-anglis sunt consecrati antistites.

The very ancient MS. list of bishops in the British Museum, says, "Aldwinus qui et Wor," and indeed any farther evidence is unnecessary. I regret that I cannot offer the slightest explanation of this name, and still more that I cannot identify the other Wor whom I have mentioned, with any one of the dukes who held command at the beginning of the ninth century.

I have already given an explanation of the names Coifi and Mûl, and have alluded to Mol as the surname of Æðelwold, a Northumbrian king. There was, however, a Northumbrian duke called Mol, as we learn from Simeon Dunelm, a. 799: but I cannot explain either this name, or that of Mora, an abbat mentioned by the same chronicler under the same date, 799.

An early bishop of Rochester was Dun, and both men and women seem to have borne this name, Dun, Dunna, and Dunne. Most probably these were adjectives, relating to the dark colour of the persons.

In a majority of the charters of Offa, king of Mercia, we find the signatures of two great nobles as Brorda. We cannot tell which was which, but the name was a nicname; it is most likely equivalent to the later Norman Longspée, unless indeed it refers rather to the length of the dukes in feet and inches, than to that of their swords. It rests upon a certain law of Anglosaxon etymology, according to which the addition of a final *a* to any word, creates a new word denoting the possessor of, or participator in, the thing denoted by the original word[x]. To this I referred above in speaking of Ecga, which may possibly mean only, He with the sword, instead of being contracted from Ecgwulf: and to this may possibly belong Cnebba, Hen. Hunt. lib. ii. Whatever may be the meaning of Brorda, there can be no doubt that it is only a nicname: Simeon, in the year 799, three years after Offa's death, says:

Eodem anno Brorda Merciorum princeps, qui et Hildegils vocatur, defunctus est.

The natural arrangement would no doubt have been, "Hildegils, qui et Brorda," but this very collocation of Simeon, coupled with the fact of our never meeting with the name Hildegils in connection with this duke, proves how much more familiar was the nicname than the baptismal one.

Whatever doubt may exist as to the meaning of Brorda, none can be entertained for a moment as to that of Mucel: it is plainly and simply "*the big man.*" This familiar appellation was nevertheless that of a duke, probably of royal blood. The possessor of a size so enviable as to give him such a distinction among a race naturally large and strong, might pardonably be proud of his nicname; accordingly in the year 845 appears the signature *Ego Mucel dux consensi et subscripsi.* (Cod. Dip. Nos. 258, 261, 267, etc.) It is true that as this big prince could not write for himself, these signatures only express the opinion entertained of him by his contemporaries, but they do unquestionably give the name by which he was best known at court. It is indeed highly probable that Æðelred, earl of the Gaini, for such he was, may not have known his own baptismal name: we certainly should not have known it

[x] Neb, *a beak;* nebba, he that hath a beak. Stefn, *the stem* or *prow;* stefna, he that hath a prow, i. e. the ship. Pâd, *a tunic;* pâda, he that hath a tunic. Brord, *a sword;* brorda, he that hath the sword.

but for the obliging gossip of Simeon, who, under the year 868, informs us that Ælfred the king,

> Uxorem accepit de Mercia, nobilem scilicet genere, filiam Æðelredi, Gainorum comitis, qui cognominabatur ab Anglis "Mucel," eo quod erat corpore magnus et prudentia grandævus.

Similar qualities of mind or body probably gave the same name to another contemporary duke, to a contemporary thane, (Cod. Dipl. Nos. 243, 245, 258, 261, 277, 292, 293, 294,) and to the xviith bishop of Hereford: what their real names were it is impossible now to tell, but they all bore the distinctive nicname of Mucel. The nicname Muca borne by a duke in 822 (Flor. Wig. in *anno*) is similar, and probably of much the same meaning. We cannot now discover why the twelfth bishop of Wells should have been called Merehwît, but such was his nicname: his real one was Beorhtsige.

Esne, which if it does not absolutely denote a serf, unquestionably does mean some person of a condition inferior to that of free men, is very unlikely to have been given as a baptismal name: it would have been regarded with a superstitious dread. Yet it was borne by the tenth bishop of Hereford, and by a yet more important person, a great duke in Mercia, attached to Offa's court, and very probably of his blood, (Cod. Dip. Nos. 131, 137, etc.) It may have referred to some event of their lives, even a temporary loss of freedom, through the fortune of war.

I must run rapidly over one or two more names of this class. In No. 102 of the Codex Diplomaticus, I find a comes, whose nicname (for it never could have been a name) was Tyrdda, the root of which can only be Tord *fimus*. I have not succeeded in identifying him with any of the comites of his day. In No. 241, Dudda, itself most probably a contracted name, is replaced by Iðda, which is so utterly incomprehensible that we are led to believe in the gradual reception by bodies of men, of such misnomers as delight us in our nurseries, and to accept the ways of society in very early periods, not indeed as childlike, but childish. Buca, an earl whose nicname occurs in No. 75, probably owed it to some fancied resemblance, personal or moral, to the animal whose name he bears: he was assuredly not christened "the buck," for what reason soever he may afterwards have been so called.

One division of the subject remains which may be disposed of rapidly: it is that which refers to residence as the distinction of individual men. It is obvious that this must be one of the simplest, as it is one of the earliest modes adopted. How it in later periods created names, is not the question; and still less can we now enter into the very important enquiry how surnames were perpetuated; in other words, how an accidental name became converted into a permanent one. It will be enough to shew that such means were used: thus in No. 775 of the Codex Dip., we find Eâdmær æt Burhhâm, i. e. the Eâdmær who lives at Burhhâm. I shall only cite one set of instances, which involve almost all the distinctions I have drawn, within the compass of a single instrument. The charter, No. 492, which bears date about 960, shews very distinctly the manner in which persons were distinguished even in a small neighbourhood. The names may be classed as before, and then we have

Wulfrîc se blâca,
Sired, Ælfredes sunu,
Wulstân Ucca,
Ælfnôð Pilia,

and from their residences,

Godwine æt Fechâm,
Eâdrîc æt Hô,
Ælfgâr æt Meâpahâm.

In conclusion, it appears to me that many uncompounded names, whose meaning we cannot now discover, were very probably at some period nicnames; that Podda, Dudda, Bubba, Tudda, are of the same class as Odda, although we do not know what names they represented; and that even Obe, Offa, Ibe, Beda, Becca, Beonna, Acca, Hecca, Lulla, may have had a similar origin.

I will not close this paper without observing that a strict application of Celtic philology to the names which occur in our earliest history, would probably supply unlooked for evidence of a much closer and more friendly intercourse than we at present anticipate, between some classes of the Britons and their Saxon invaders. I earnestly recommend this enquiry to such members of the Archæological Institute as are capable of undertaking it: for the real position of the aborigines during the Saxon rule is a most important element in the induction as to the growth and tendencies of our national institutions.

J. M. KEMBLE.

SEALS OF THE EARLS OF WINCHESTER.

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ., F.S.A.

Seher de Quenci, the first earl of Winchester, is supposed to have been raised to that dignity about the year 1210, and he died in 1219.

His seal, of which there is a drawing in a Cottonian MS., (Julius C. vii. f. 190,) and an engraving in Nichols's History of Leicestershire, represents him bearing a shield, charged with a fess, and a label or file of seven or more points; and the same bearings occur again on the mantling of his horse, on the pennon of the lance which he carries, and on a shield in the secretum or counter-seal. But on another shield, placed behind his equestrian figure, is this coat, a fess between two chevronels, well known as the armorial bearings of the Fitz-walters, earls of Essex.

The wife of earl Seher was Margaret, daughter and coheir of Robert de Breteuil, commonly named Fitzparnell, earl of Leicester. The seal[a] she used in her widowhood is inscribed, Sigill: Margarete de Quency comitisse Wintonie. It represents her standing under an arch, on which is a cinquefoil, the badge of the honour of Leicester. Her close dress is covered with mascles, and her mantle is figured wavy or vairée, probably intended to represent fur. On a tree by her side are hung two shields, the lower charged with the fess and chevronels,

[a] This seal was engraved as perfect in the History of Leicestershire from a MS. of Samuel Roper, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, seen by Sir Thomas Cave (see Preface to Hist. of Leic., p. v.) The Harleian charter 55 B 5, quoted in the History of Leicestershire, vol. i. Appendix, p. 4, has now lost its seal; but the fine, though imperfect, impression now engraved is still attached to the charter 112 C 27.

as already described from her husband's seal, and the upper with seven mascles, 3, 3, and 1.

Roger de Quincy, the second earl of Winchester, son of Seher and Margaret, and who enjoyed the earldom for forty-five years, from 1219 to 1264, took for his arms the coat of seven mascles. It appears on the shield of his equestrian figure upon his seal, and on the mantling of his horse. The seal has a reverse of the same size, and thereon he is represented on foot, combating with a lion, and defending himself with a shield also bearing the mascles.

These seals present some remarkable circumstances in the early history of armorial bearings; for whilst on the one hand they offer the fact of an earl entirely deserting the arms of his father and predecessor, they also shew on the other hand, that a certain meaning was attached to secondary and accessory coats, such meaning as is now expressed by the practices of impaling and quartering.

Of the coat borne by Seher de Quincy we see nothing more. It was probably the family coat which his father had brought from the continent, where such labels or files were common. The family were not Norman, but probably from Gascony.

The coat of Fitzwalter, or that which resembles Fitzwalter, has been supposed, in an essay recently written by Mr. Planché, to have been derived from the mother of earl Seher, who had been first married to Robert Fitz-Richard of Tunbridge, the ancestor of the Fitz-Walters. By birth she was Maud de St. Liz, daughter of Simon earl of Huntingdon. If the coat represents any inheritance that devolved from Maud to her son, this explanation may prove to be correct; but from its appearing also on the seal of the Countess Margaret, it may be thought to belong to her, rather than to her mother-in-law, especially as Margaret was a considerable heiress.

But then we find also the coat of seven mascles, which was subsequently regarded as the true arms of Quincy, borne by that lady, and worn on her dress, and this would support the conclusion that that coat was derived by the Quincy's from her. Yet no such figure appears among the insignia of the earls of Leicester. Her father, on his *secretum*, under the name of Robert de Breteuil, exhibits a shield of a checky field, like that of the Warrens[b]. In those early days of armorial

[b] Nichols's Hist. of Leic., vol. i. p. 97.

SIGILL ROGERI DE OVINCIC COMITIS WINCESTRIE

SIGILL ROGERI DOVI
CI : COMITIS WINCESTRIE

bearings, their use by individuals was not invariably settled, and their descent by inheritance scarcely established.

In the earliest roll of arms extant, that of the reign of Henry III., the arms of Quincy are described as gules, six mascles or. (The number, however, was usually seven.)

This coat of mascles[c] was subsequently adopted by the family of Ferrars, after the marriage of William de Ferrars earl of Derby, with Margaret eldest daughter and coheir of Roger earl of Winchester; and Robert lord Fitzwalter, who married in 1298 Alianor Ferrars, daughter of the earl of Derby, displays on his very beautiful seal, which is engraved in the fifth volume of the Archæologia, a separate shield of the mascles, placed in like manner as his wife's ancestor earl Seher had borne the supposed arms of Fitzwalter. And in many other instances it will be found that shields so placed exhibit the arms of alliance.

The inscription on the reverse of the seal of earl Roger is, Sigill' Rogeri de Quinci constabularii Scocie. As already mentioned, he is represented fighting with a rampant lion; and his office of constable of Scotland suggests the idea that the lion is possibly emblematical of that kingdom, whose arms are a lion rampant.

There is no doubt that such was the meaning in a design of a subsequent date, which represents a knight bearing a shield of the arms of Stuart, fighting with a rampant lion, the whole within a double tressure[d].

There are, however, several seals of early date, in which warriors are thus represented, as one of Roger de Berkeley 1165[e], another of Bertram de Verdun 1179, and one or more of Hugh de Neville[f], who was chief forester to Henry III. It may have been a device simply emblematic of high courage, though Matthew Paris has related that a victory over a lion in the Holy Land was a real incident in the early life of

[c] At a much later period, when Edward the Fourth conferred the earldom of Winchester on Louis de Bruges de Gruthuse, that personage had an accompanying grant of arms, combining the mascles of Quincy with a special augmentation from the royal coat,——"videlt. in Gallico sic: *Il port d'Azure a dix mascles d'or enarmé d'ung canton de nostre propre armes d'Engleterre, cestassavoir de goules a ung lipard passant d'or armée d'azure.*" (Pat. 12 Edw. IV. pars 1, m. 11: printed in Rymer's Fœdera, 1710, vol. xi. p. 765.) See also the Memoir of Louis de Gruthuse, by Sir Frederick Madden, in the Archæologia, vol. xxvi. p. 269.

[d] Engraved from a seal-ring belonging to Sir Richard Worsley, Bart., in the Archæologia, vol. iv. pl. xix. p. 176; and from an illuminated charter, ibid. vol. xxiii. p. 388.

[e] Engraved in Lysons' Gloucestershire.

[f] Engraved in Drummond's Noble British Families, art. Neville.

Hugh de Neville when he accompanied King Richard on his crusade:

Inter cætera suæ probitatis et audaciæ insignia, in Terra Sancta leonem interfecit, qui prius sagittatus in pectore et postea gladio transverberatus, eliquato sanguine exspiravit; unde versus,

Viribus Hugonis vires periere leonis [g].

This verse reminds me of a small round seal in which a knight, entirely in mail armour, and a shield apparently bearing a lion, is likewise fighting with a lion, and surrounded by this French motto,

Or a gardez bel ami
trop fort bataille i a cis.

ON THE SEALS OF WINCHESTER CITY, AND ON THE ROYAL SEALS FOR THE RECOGNIZANCE OF DEBTORS, TEMP. EDW. II.

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ., F.S.A.

With respect to the municipal seals of Winchester, two circumstances are remarkable, 1. that the ancient seal of this very important city has yet to be discovered, and 2. that Dr. Milner is very incorrect in what he gives on this subject. If it is boasted, and I believe in most respects justly boasted, that Winchester possesses in her History by Milner a capital work, and that the author has throughout shewn himself a judicious antiquary and intelligent historian, it is no less certain that in this particular he is most imperfect and inaccurate. The identity of the seals is mistaken by him, and their legends grossly blundered.

1. At page 250 he states, on the authority of "Trussel's MSS." that Henry III. was the first sovereign who granted to the corporation of Winchester a common seal.

2. In p. 268, that in 1276, when Winchester was visited

[g] Among other instances of Matthew Paris's inaccuracy exposed in the recent edition by the Historical Society of the work that has hitherto gone by his name, but the main substance of which is now restored to its author Roger de Wendover, is an assertion (interpolated into Wendover's text) that Hugh de Neville died in the reign of King John, whereas he certainly survived until the 18th Hen. III.

by King Edward the First, "It is probable that this was the time of Edward's bestowing a new seal upon the corporation, which they continue still to possess, and to use in deeds of importance." Now, this latter assertion, if true, is very extraordinary indeed; for this seal, which Dr. Milner says the corporation of Winchester continued to use in deeds of importance, is no seal of their corporation, but one of the king's seals for recognizances of debtors. Milner has engraved it in his miscellaneous plate, No. 12; and in Lewis's Topographical Dictionary, (an interesting feature of which is its collection of corporation seals, though many of them are spoilt by considerable reduction,) this same seal is engraved as the seal of the city of Winchester.

3. Dr. Milner states, in p. 374, that in 1589 the city "was honoured with the gift of a new seal," of which he adds the following description in a note :—

"See our miscellaneous plate, No. 13. The face consists of an ancient square castle, with the date and the letters AVG in the exergue; the inscription round it + SIGILL : : CIVIT : : INION : : GNSIVT. The reverse is a cross patée, with the date; the inscription, CONFIRMATIO SITIS, the latter word being the same when read either backwards or forwards. There is evidently some anagram, or other riddle, in both inscriptions, which we leave to the investigation of those who are curious in such matters."

The engraving of the seal in Milner's plate is reduced, and the word which he says may be read either backwards or forwards, is made SISIS instead of SITIS. This word, not having yet seen an impression of the seal, I cannot at present explain; but the riddle of the inscription on the obverse is read by supplying the few letters that are deficient, and correcting four which are mistaken. It is a blundered copy of what I have no doubt was the inscription on the ancient seal of the city, Sigillum civium Wintoniensium:

SIGILL : : CIVIT : : INION : GNSIVT
SIGILLVM CIVIVM WINTONIENSIVM

resembling in style the legend on the seal of Rochester, Sigillum civium Rofensium; of Newcastle, Stafford, and Liverpool[a], Sigillum burgensium Novi Castell, &c.; of Romney, Folkstone, &c., Sigillum baronum Romney, &c.

The seal which Milner has engraved as the seal supposed to

[a] The present (or recent) seal of Liverpool has a legend blundered by the engraver to a most extraordinary extent. It is engraved in the Archæologia, vol. xxi. p. 544.

have been given to the city of Winchester by King Edward the First, and which is repeated in Lewis's Topographical Dictionary as the city seal, is one of those which were made early in the reign of Edward II. in pursuance of the statute of merchants, which provided such a legal sanction for the recognizance of debts.

In the 33rd chapter of the ordinances, enacted in 5 Edw. II. 1312, which refers to the statute of merchants, made at Acton Burnell, 11 Edw. I. 1283, is the following passage:—

"Moreover we do ordain that the seals of the king which he assigned to testify the said recognizances, be delivered to the most rich and the most sage in the undermentioned towns, that is to say, at Newcastle upon Tyne, York, and Nottingham, for the counties beyond Trent and the merchants there coming and abiding; at Exeter, Bristol, and Southampton, for the merchants coming to and abiding in parts of the south and west; at Lincoln and Northampton, for merchants there coming and abiding; at London and at Canterbury, for the merchants coming to and abiding in those parts; at Shrewsbury, for the merchants coming to and abiding in those parts; at Norwich, for the merchants coming to and abiding in those parts. And recognizances made elsewhere than in the said towns, shall not hold place from henceforth."

But besides the twelve towns here mentioned, the like seals appear to have been shortly after allowed to several other cities and towns. I have myself seen those belonging to Chester, Derby, Gloucester, Hereford, and Oxford, besides that of Winchester, which has given rise to these remarks.

Of the twelve[b] granted in 5 Edw. II. I have also seen the whole, excepting that for Newcastle, which appears to be lost. The matrices are generally, if not universally, of silver, and are in perfect condition, having in most cases, as it appears, been preserved with care[c].

The general design of the whole is alike, and it is only in a few instances that some slight varieties occur. A bust of the king, beardless and very effeminate in aspect, with a jewelled rim to his robes, that in some copies looks like a necklace, occupies the greater part of the field; before his breast is a

[b] Impressions of all except London, of which there is a tricking in MS. Cotton. Julius C. VII. p. 154 b.

[c] That of Shrewsbury is "lost" from the corporation, (Blakeway's Hist. i. p. 542), but was existing in private hands in 1802, when it was engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine. Mr. Blakeway erroneously attributes its portrait to Edward I. instead of Edward II., supposing it to have been made immediately upon the act passed at Acton Burnell, in the reign of the former monarch.

lion, and on each side of his head is a castle, the badge of his mother, Alianor of Castille, and which is placed in the same position upon his great seal[d]. The seal for Hereford differs only in having a small star and crescent placed above the castles. The seal for Southampton is varied; the castle of Castille, or perhaps the gate and wall of Southampton, is placed before the king, and lions instead of castles on each side of his head. The seal for Gloucester is of larger size than the rest; it has a lion before the king's breast, but instead of the castles, a horse-shoe on each side, and thirteen nails.

The seal for York, which resembles the majority when in one state, is provided with a singular contrivance for making a variety in the impressions. One of the castles is removable, and might be replaced by other square pieces or plugs engraved with a leopard's head, the cross keys of St. Peter, or other devices[e].

Several engravings of these seals have been published: that for Bristol, in Seyer's History of that city; that for Chester, in Ormerod's History of Cheshire; that for Norwich[f], in Blomefield's Norfolk (with the plan of Norwich;) that for Shrewsbury, in the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1802, and Blakeway's History of Shrewsbury, vol. i. p. 542; that for Winchester, as already noticed, in Dr. Milner's History; and that of York, in Drake's History of that city, (with the map, p. 380.)

[d] The great seal of Edward II. was an exact copy of that of his father, distinguished only by this addition.

[e] Mr. Doubleday was under the impression that such plugs were still in existence: but on requesting further information from Robert Davies, Esq., F.S.A., the town clerk of York, I am informed that he is not aware of any such supplementary plugs being now in existence. The seal is however attached to a silver ring, upon which, at equal distances, three small facets are engraved: 1. a lion rampant; 2. an eagle's head erased; 3. a dragon's head erased. These are within borders of different forms, the first circular, and the two others shield-shaped; and the style in which they are engraved is that of the sixteenth century. They may however have been substitutes for the older facets, and intended for impression on the vacant space of the wax, when the seal was moved, after an impression without the castle.

[f] Blomefield terms the Norwich seal that of the mayor of the staple, and attributes its making to the act passed in Edw. III. 1353. He says "It is now in use, all testimonials beyond the seals being sealed with it; and in 1300 an officer was elected annually to keep the statute staple seal." (Hist. of Norfolk, fol. 1745, pp. 69, 895.) But the mayor had probably another seal than this, bearing his own designation.

REMARKS ON THE COMMON SEAL OF THE MEN OF ALWARESTOKE, CO. HANTS.

Among the drawings of Hampshire seals made for the late Mr. Caley, and which subsequently to his decease have passed into my hands, is one which from its remarkable execution and singular character, appears to deserve considerable attention. The drawing was made from a recent impression in wax, furnished by the Rev. J. L. Shapcott, of Southampton, and which he has since been kind enough to present to me. It is better calculated than the drawing to shew the bold and excellent style of workmanship of the original matrix, and is submitted to the notice of the members of the Archæological Institute, with the view of eliciting some fuller illustration than what can now be offered in these remarks. The seal is circular, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and was evidently executed early in the thirteenth century. In the centre is represented in high relief an episcopal figure seated, no doubt intended for St. Swithun, having a low mitre on the head, and holding in the right hand a volute-headed

crosier or pastoral staff, and in the left a book, probably of the Gospels, the cover of which is studded with round bosses. Around the edge of the seal is the following inscription in capital letters.

✠ SIGILL : COMVNE : HOMINVM : PRIORIS : SCI
SWITHVNI : DE : ALWARESTOKE.

It would hence appear that this was the seal used in common by the tenants of the ancient vill or manor of Alwarestoke, which will be better known by its modern name of *Alverstoke*. Very little has been recorded of the history of this manor, but from an entry in the Register of John de Pontissara, still preserved in the episcopal archives of Winchester, we learn at fol. 160 b, that *Alwarestoke*, together with Extone and Wydehay, were bestowed on the church of St. Swithun by a noble Saxon lady named Alwara, for the soul of her husband Leowin, and a similar notice is found in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. ii. p. 430, extracted apparently from the Chronicle of Thomas Rudbourne, a monk of Winchester.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, as appears by the record, the manor was included in the hundred of Meonstoke, and was held by the bishop, but is stated to have always been conventual land[a]. In the time of Edward the Confessor, it was assessed at sixteen hides, but King Edward reduced it to ten hides, and so it remained. The record proceeds thus, "It was and is now held by villagers, (*villani*) in number forty-eight, who occupy fifteen ploughlands. It was always, and is still worth 6*l*. One knight holds half a hide of this manor, which was assessed with the other hides. Sawinus held it, but was not allowed to dwell elsewhere. Here is one ploughland with two borderers, worth 25*s*[b]."

I now proceed to the consideration of a vellum roll presented to me in 1831, by George Soaper, Esq., of Guildford, and which serves to throw some additional light on the history of the seal above described. It is thus headed, "This is the true copie of the Deede or Charter of Alwarstoke, translated into English out of the originall."

Then follows the charter, commencing "Universis Christi

[a] "Semper fuit *in Monasterio*."

[b] Warner's Hampshire Domesday, p. 70.

fidelibus presens scriptum visuris vel audituris," etc. by which Andrew de Londonia, the prior, and the convent of St. Swithun, Winchester, grant and confirm to their men of Alwarstoke, that they and their posterity (*sequela*) should be for ever free and quit from tallages, salt-rent, cherset of hens and eggs, and pannage of hogs; should be at liberty to make wills, and dispose of their children and avers; and be free from wards and suits of hundred-courts without the manor. The prior and convent also grant to the same men all the lands they then held, to them and their heirs, hereditarily, for ever, with power to sell and alienate, except to religious persons. For this grant and confirmation the men of Alwarstoke agree to pay to the prior and his successors the sum of 4*d.* per annum for each acre of the whole manor, reckoned at 16½ feet to the perch. Exception is made in respect to the land lying between the two floats or water-courses (*flueta*), namely, from the float where the mill of the almoner of the church of St. Swithun was situate, unto the float beneath the garden of the parson of Alwarstoke, for which the men of Stokes and Forton, and Brochurst and Burie, were to pay annually 6*d.* per acre, except for 2½ virgates within the same boundary, for which they were to pay 4*d.* per acre. Each tenant also of the whole manor was to pay for his land, as relief, after the death of his ancestor, the same sum that he paid annually for rent. Then follow the regulations for appointing a bailiff of the said manor, after which is the important concession, that all pleas, except pleas of the crown, should by consent of both parties be pleaded and tried without delay in the court of Alwarstoke, in the presence of the prior or his seneschal, according to the law and custom of England, and the usage of the free tenants of the county. The document then concludes by stating, that to one part of the deed or chirograph remaining with the men of the said manor of Alwarstoke the *conventual seal* had been affixed, and to the other part remaining with the convent, Thomas de Forton, Richard Bisset, Henry de Prunet, Robert Bissop, Robert, son of Arnold, and John de Penne, had affixed their seals, on behalf of all the men of the whole manor.

Andrew de Londonia, the prior mentioned in this chirograph, held the office from 1256 to 1261 or 2, within which period the deed must have been executed.

Then follows in the vellum roll a translation in English of

the deed, together with an explanation of the old terms used in it, and a translation of an exemplification, dated 26 June, 1 Edw. IV., [1461.] of an extract from Domesday, relating to the manor of Alwarstoke.

Between the Latin charter and the translation occurs the following remarkable memorandum, which more immediately concerns the subject of these remarks.—"The wordes about the *Sylver Seale* w^{ch} remayneth wth the auntient deed or charter aforesaid, are translated into English as followeth, (vizt.) *This is the Seale of Saint Swethins, belonging to the Tenauntes of Lealwardstoke.*"

There can be but little doubt, that the silver seal here mentioned must be the original matrix of the seal described at the commencement of this paper, and some additional information respecting it is given on the dors of the roll, on which the following entry has been made.

"The xxiith of November, ano Regis Jacobi, Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regis, fidei defensoris, &c. quarto, et Scotie quadragesimo, 1606.

"The Originall of the deede or charter wthin written remained the daie and yeare above written in the handes and custodie of Robert Mathew of Brockhurst, wth the seale fayer to the said deed belonging. *Togeather alsoe wth the sylver seale wthin mentioned.* And likewise an exemplification under the broade seale graunted in kinge Edwardes tyme the Fowerth, w^{ch} deed and exemplification was had to London the day and yeare aforesaid by the said Robert Mathew, Thomas Bonner, Francis Thorney, and Thomas Watts. And there found the said deede and exemplification verbatim word for word faier wrytten in the Towre of London, in the Rowles. And the said Thomas Bonner, Francis Thorney and Thomas Watts have taken the true copies thereof under their handes, ether to other."

(Signed) Frances Thorene.
Thomas Watts.

It would appear therefore from this evidence, that in the year 1606, the silver matrix of the common seal of the men of Alwarestoke was in the hands of one of the tenants of the manor; but the following questions arise respecting it, a solution of which is greatly to be desired.

1. Was this seal always in the possession of the tenants?

2. If this seal was used by the tenants in common, how is it, that in the deed executed with Prior Andrew, three of their number are mentioned as affixing their seals in behalf of the rest, and no *common seal* mentioned?

3. Where is the matrix of this seal at present? The wax impression presented to me by Mr. Shapcott must have been taken at no very distant period, but Mr. S. has no distinct recollection how it came into his hands.

In all probability an inspection of the ancient cartulary of the monastery of St. Swithun, preserved among the muniments of Wolvesey palace, might serve to clear up the difficulties respecting the use of this singular seal, or some ancient document might be found among the archives of the dean and chapter of Winchester, to which an original impression of the seal may remain affixed. To these points of inquiry I beg to draw the attention of the Members of the Institute.

F. MADDEN.

REMARKS ON THE MONUMENT OF SIR RICHARD LYSTER, IN ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, SOUTHAMPTON.

There is a class of errors to which the compilers of topographical works—unless more than their usual care and research be manifested—are continually liable, and which sometimes from long continuance become peculiarly mischievous, and difficult to correct. The errors I allude to arise from the misnomers often given to our ancient sepulchral monuments, which, resting on no real authority, are repeated by succeeding writers until they acquire a sort of prescriptive accuracy, which few venture to disturb or question. A remarkable instance of this presents itself in regard to a monument in the church of St. Michael, in the town of Southampton, which, by common report and the consent of printed works for above half a century, has been attributed to the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, who died July 30, 1550; yet nothing is more certain (as I trust to be able to prove) than that this appropriation of the monument is entirely without foundation, and was probably caused in the first instance by nothing more than a resemblance between the arms sculptured on the tomb and those borne by the family of Wriothesley. The precise date when this error first appeared in print is not perhaps easy to ascertain, but, as far as I can trace, its earliest appearance was in the third edition of "The Southampton Guide," published in 1781, at p. 36 of which we read, "In the north chancel lies buried Lord

Wriothesley, Lord High Chancellor in the time of Henry the Eighth, the same who passed sentence on Anne Bullen. His figure, in a reclining posture, remains almost entire, but the monument and the inscription thereon are defaced." No notice is taken of this monument by Gough, in his additions to Camden, nor by the compiler of the Collections for Hampshire, which pass under the name of Warner, published in 1795; but the above error having been carelessly adopted by Sir Henry Englefield in his "Walk through Southampton," 8vo. 1801, reprinted in 1805, it was servilely copied into the "Beauties of England and Wales," and thence into all the recent compilations called histories of the county, as well as in the late editions of the local guide-books. That so gross an error should have hitherto escaped detection, is the more remarkable from the fact, that Lord Chancellor Wriothesley was first buried in the church of St. Andrew's, Holborn, where, Stowe tells us, a fair monument was erected to his memory, and his body subsequently removed to Tichfield, in Hampshire, pursuant to the will of his son Henry, second earl of Southampton, who died June 29, 1581, and who left the sum of 1000 marks for the repair of the church of Tichfield, and the erection of a sumptuous monument to his father, his mother, and himself[a]. This latter monument still exists in good preservation, and being so near to Southampton, ought of itself to have occasioned doubts as to the correctness of the vulgar report relative to the tomb in St. Michael's church. That this report was wholly unknown in the year 1719, is proved by a small collection of church notes taken in Hampshire in that year, preserved in one of the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, No. 14,296, fol. 59, in which the writer, describing the monument in St. Michael's church, says, "In the aforesaid dormitory, against the south part, lyes on a handsome stone tomb the figure of a Judge on his back, dress'd in scarlet; a collar of SS. round his breast, a Judge's cap on his head, and a book in his right hand. On a sort of cornice supported by three pillars, this remnant of an inscription, ET . DICTO ELIZABETH . HOC IN . VIDVETATE . SVA . CVZAVIT. 18 DIE . MARCIE . 1567."

This evidence is valuable, because it proves, that with the exception of the disappearance of the colour from the robes, the monument remains now in precisely the same state as it

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 284.

was in the year 1719. The whole is of white free-stone, and of tolerable execution, but the faults in the Latinity of the inscription are sufficiently obvious. Under the canopy of the tomb, and against the wall which separates the north from the middle chancel, is sculptured a coat of arms, quarterly, viz. 1 and 4, on a cross 5 mullets between 4 birds; 2 and 3, a lion rampant, within an orle of crescents. Above the shield is the date 1567, and below are the initials R. L. On the side of the monument are two other plain shields, within quatrefoil panels, and at the west end, under the head of the figure, a third plain shield. It now remains to ascertain the individual whose effigy is here represented, and to whom the above arms and initials belong. This I have been enabled to do upon evidence perfectly conclusive, and I have no hesitation in pronouncing the individual in question to be Sir Richard Lyster, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who resided at Southampton, made his will there, died there on the 14th of March, 155$\frac{3}{4}$, and was interred in St. Michael's church on the 17th of March following, as appears by the following entry in the old register, obligingly communicated to me by the Rev. Thos. L. Shapcott, rector of St. Michael's:

"1.5.5.3. The xvij day of March Syr Rychard Lyster Knyght was buryde."

The particulars recorded of this individual may be briefly stated.

In 1515 he was appointed reader to the Middle Temple, and again in 1521[b].

In 1522 he was made Solicitor-General, and continued till August, 1526[c].

In the same year he was appointed Treasurer of the Middle Temple[d].

In 1530 he was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer[e].

In 1545 he resided at Southampton, and his house there is noticed by Leland in the following terms;

"The house that Master Lighster, chiefe Barne of the Kings Escheker, dwellyth yn, is very fair[f]."

In 1546 he was made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, at that time being a knight[g].

[b] Dugdale, Orig. Jur. p. 215. ed. 1671.
[c] Pat. 13 H. VIII. p. 1.
[d] Dugdale, ubi sup.
[e] Ibid.
[f] Itin., vol. iii. pl. 77.
[g] Pat. 37 H. VIII. p. 2.

This dignity he does not appear to have long retained, for on the 14th of May, 1547, William Portman was appointed his successor.

His will is dated at Southampton, Oct. 10, 6 Edw. VI., [1552,] in which he describes himself as Richard Lyster, Knt. Chief Justice at Pleas. He gives *inter alia* to his niece, Elizabeth Methley, twenty-one years in the manor of Halyborne Estbroke, co. Southton. His son, Sir Michael Lyster, was then dead, leaving Richard Lyster his son and heir. Charles Lyster, younger son of Sir Michael, was under age. His daughter Elizabeth is mentioned, and her husband Sir Richard Blount. The will was proved the 16th of April, 1554, by the executors, Sir Richard Blount and Richard Lyster[h].

By the inquisition taken after his death at Andover, the 17th of March, 155$\frac{3}{4}$, it appears that he held at his decease the manors of Halyborne, Estbrook and Westbrook, Colrithe, Bishops Sutton, Medested, Lokerley, Romsey, Paynshill, Mount la Hyde, and Morcstede, in the counties of Southampton and Surrey, together with various other lands and messuages, including one capital messuage in the town of Southampton, valued at £7., held of the mayor and his brethren by suit of court.

By the same inquisition it is declared that Sir Michael Lyster, knight, died in the lifetime of his father[i], and Richard Lyster, son of Sir Michael, was heir to his grandfather, and of the age of twenty-one years[k]. This Richard Lyster afterwards married Lady Mary[l], second daughter of Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, and perhaps this may have helped to occasion the error respecting his grandfather's monument.

In regard to the arms of Sir Richard Lyster, as they appear on the monument, they correspond closely to the coat granted him, when Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by Sir Christopher Barker, Garter, viz., azure, on a cross argent, between four wrens or, five torteaux, each charged with a star of six points or[m]; and the same arms are engraved by Dugdale (only changing the stars to mullets, as on the tomb) in his Origines, p. 329, as they appeared in 1599, in the windows of Sergeant's

[h] Ex inform. Sir C. G. Young, Garter.

[i] He died in London, and was buried the 22nd of August, 1551, as appears by the curious chronicle in MS. Cott. Vitell. f. v, which is now editing for the Camden Society by J. G. Nichols, Esq.

[k] Cole's Escheats, MS. Harl., 758. p. 29.

[l] Dugdale and the Visitations state her to have been the widow of William Shelley, of Michelgrove; but Vincent on Brooke, p. 486, says that Shelley was her *second* husband.

[m] MS. in Coll. of Arms. Compare MS. Harl., 5846, f. 70 b.

Inn. The same coat is also assigned to the grandson, Richard Lyster, in a pedigree of Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, drawn up in 1599, among the Harleian Rolls, O 12.

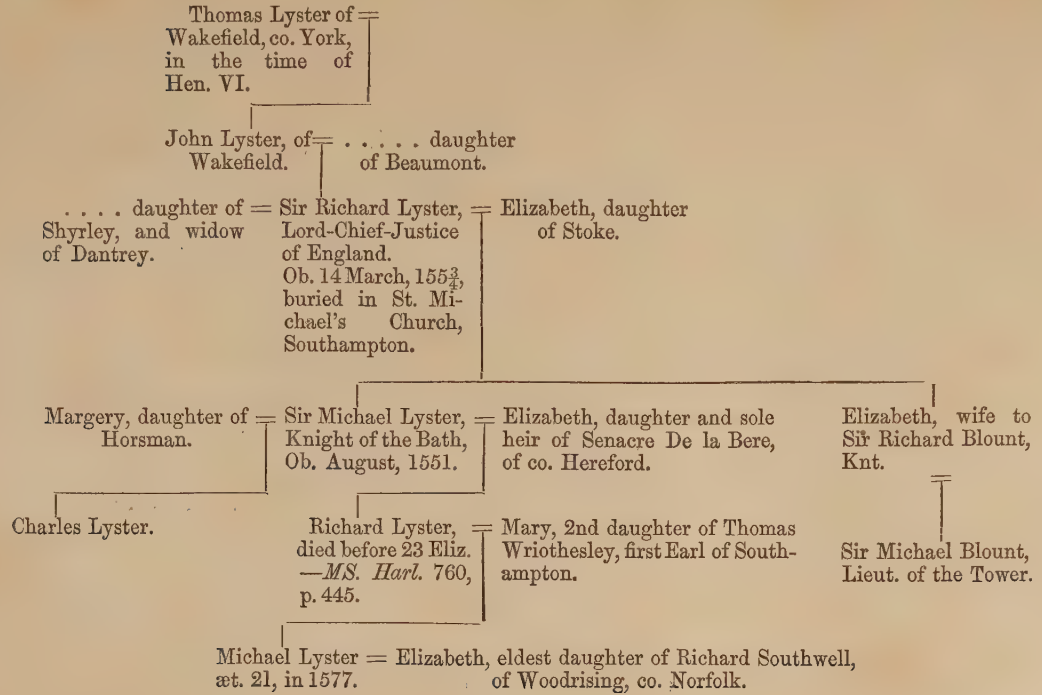
In the Hampshire Visitation of 1575, in MSS. Harl. 1544, fol. 43 b, and 5865, fol. 38 b, this coat is also repeated, but with the error of substituting *cinquefoils* for *stars* or *mullets*. Quartered with it is the coat noticed on the tomb, viz. gules, a lion rampant within an orle of crescents, argent. This is the coat of Beaumont of Whitley, co. York, which was quartered by Lyster in right of his mother, a heiress of that family.

It would appear from the Visitation of Yorkshire in 1612, that the family of Lyster was originally of Wakefield, in that county; but among the mayors of Southampton, in a list commencing in 1498, I find a Thomas Lyster who was mayor in the years 1518, 1528, 1537, and 1545. In all probability he was a near relative of the Chief Justice. Sir Richard appears to have been twice married, and from the imperfect inscription on the monument yet remaining, we may infer that it was erected to him in 1567 by his widow Elizabeth.

As affording a clearer view of the descent of this family, I annex the pedigree, as far as it has been ascertained, derived from the heraldic Visitations of Yorkshire and Hampshire, compared with the Inquisitiones post mortem and the monument.

F. MADDEN.

LYSTER, or LISTER.


Thomas Lyster of Wakefield, co. York, in the time of Hen. VI.
John Lyster, of Wakefield.
. . . . . daughter of Beaumont.
. . . . daughter of Shyrley, and widow of Dantrey.
Sir Richard Lyster, Lord-Chief-Justice of England. Ob. 14 March, 155¾, buried in St. Michael's Church, Southampton.
Elizabeth, daughter of Stoke.
Margery, daughter of Horsman.
Sir Michael Lyster, Knight of the Bath, Ob. August, 1551.
Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Senacre De la Bere, of co. Hereford.
Elizabeth, wife to Sir Richard Blount, Knt.
Charles Lyster.
Richard Lyster, died before 23 Eliz. —MS. Harl. 760, p. 445.
Mary, 2nd daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton.
Sir Michael Blount, Lieut. of the Tower.
Michael Lyster, æt. 21, in 1577.
Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Richard Southwell, of Woodrising, co. Norfolk.

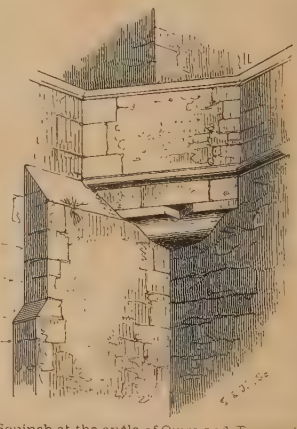
ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHURCH AND HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY CROSS.

The Gateway

INTERESTING as are the remains of antiquity with which this city abounds—poor fragments though they be of its ancient greatness—none perhaps at all equal the charm attaching to the Hospital of St. Cross. Not to be compared in splendour or antiquity to the mighty pile of the Cathedral, it has that peculiar attraction which belongs to whatever is first of its own class. The Cathedral, the College, the royal and episcopal Palace, may be found elsewhere—individually at least—in equal beauty; but nowhere, to the best of my knowledge, does there exist any foundation of a similar nature, which can for a moment compare with the architectural beauty, the historical association, or the calm and holy air pervading the whole of this truly venerable establishment. Whether, among the numerous similar societies which fell beneath that spirit of sacrilegious rapacity which could not spare the very resting-places of aged poverty, any existed which at all approached St. Cross in wealth and splendour, I know not; certainly I have not heard of any still remaining; it stands, I should suppose, incomparable among its own

class—the "roof and crown" of such foundations. No one can pass its threshold without feeling himself landed as it were in another age; the ancient features of the building, the noble gateway, the quadrangle, the common refectory, the cloister, and, rising above all, the lofty and massive pile of the venerable Church; the uniform garb and reverend mien of the aged brethren, the common provision for their declining years, the dole at the gate-house—all lead back our thoughts to days when men gave their best to God's honour, and looked on what was done to His poor as done to Himself, and were as lavish of architectural beauty on what modern habits might deem a receptacle for beggars, as on the noblest of royal palaces. It seems a place where no worldly thought, no pride, or passion, or irreverence could enter; a spot, where, as a modern writer has beautifully expressed it, a good man, might he make his choice, would wish to die.

The Hospital was founded in 1136 by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, to whom also is attributed the design of the Abbey Church of Romsey. Like that Church, it seems to have been built from one uniform plan, but being erected at the time when Gothick Architecture was beginning to be engrafted on Romanesque, the details of the different parts of the Church vary, so that, though in an inferior degree to Romsey, it affords a valuable lesson in the Transition from Roman to Gothick Architecture. It does not indeed exhibit some change in detail at almost every step, and some parts are apparently actual alterations; still the transition is well and plainly marked, and the idea of the whole Church and many of the details are admirable.

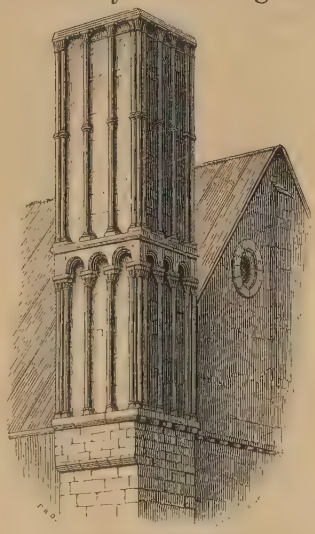


Squinch at the angle of Quire and Transept

The Church is cruciform, with aisles to the Nave and Quire, but not to the Transepts, and a North porch; the high roofs of the original structure remain over all the four arms of the Cross; from the centre rises a massive square steeple reaching only one story above the outer roof. Small as the building is, it has all the features of a Conventual or Collegiate structure, that indescribable something which distinguishes the Minster from the Parish Church; no one, even were the Hos-

pital buildings not attached, could mistake it for a mere parochial edifice. The Church is remarkably lofty for its other proportions, a great merit as I think, English buildings, of whatever rank, being, with a few exceptions, ordinarily too low.

As the space which can be allotted in this volume to a single paper must be necessarily limited, I will in describing this Church keep chiefly in mind its value as a specimen of the Transition, and attend more especially to those parts of it which bear upon that question, treating the other particulars in a more cursory manner. An attentive examination of the Church in company with two gentlemen far more competent to decide on such matters than myself, Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Parker, has convinced me that two dates within the Romanesque period may be traced in the Eastern parts; one, the original work of Bishop de Blois, comprising only a small portion of the external walls; the other, rather to be called Transition, embracing the upper part of the external walls, and all the interior decoration. It would appear most probable that the building of the Church—which was often not the first portion erected of a religious house—was stopped soon after its commencement, and recommenced in a later and richer style towards the end of the century. The original work may be traced by the difference in the labels of the windows, which is much plainer than in the upper part which has labels with more complicated[a] sectional mouldings.

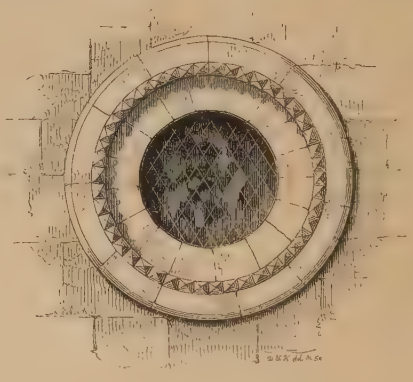


Turret at the East End.

The East end is a fine example of Romanesque in all its purity and majesty. It consists of the ends of the Quire and its Aisles which are prolonged the whole way. The gable of the central compartment is high-pitched, although lower than in many ancient examples, between two square turrets, rising from the pilaster buttresses of the East front, but on the sides shaved into a kind of corbel. These tur-

[a] I use this term to express mouldings which affect the profile, in opposition to the true Romanesque mouldings which are merely enrichments of the surface, not affecting the profile or section.

rets are in two stages, of which the upper is adorned with slender banded shafts with capitals supporting the cornice after the manner of an entablature, an arrangement less commonly seen in Norman buildings, unless in the small pillars at the angles of towers and pilasters. The lower stage has an arcade of round arches supported by similar small columns of shorter proportions. A tall shallow pilaster, widening a little below the spring of the gable, divides the centre compartment into two parts; like all in this front it has a smaller pilaster attached. Such pilasters, the parents of the elegant and mechanically admirable buttresses of Gothick Architecture, add a good deal to the effect of Romanesque buildings, but can be of little constructive utility in supporting the structure, which is however less required in this style on account of the vast thickness of the walls. On either side the pilaster is a small round window in the gable, intended, doubtless, to air the timber roof above, but now glazed; their external rim is ornamented with the nail-head moulding, the probable origin of the elegant tooth ornament of the Early English style. Just below the gable, and continued round the square turrets, is a string adorned with the billet moulding.



Circular Window in the Eastern Gable

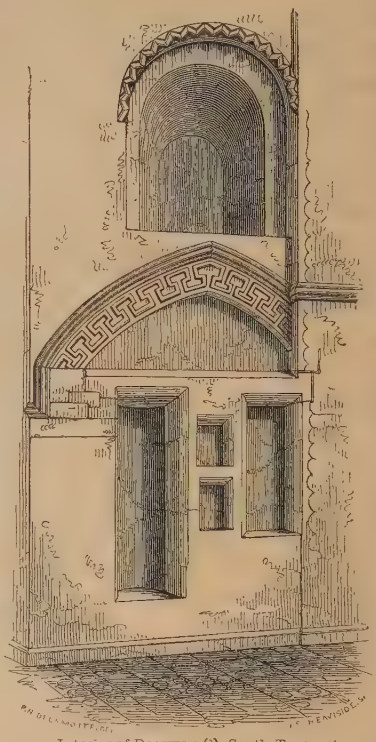
Below are three sets of windows, ranging with the clerestory, the triforium, and the aisle windows. Of these the lowest and those ranging with the triforium appear to belong to the original structure of De Blois, the upper ones to the later period of Romanesque. They are the common window of the style, with plain architraves, and jamb-shafts and capitals, the latter sculptured, but not in an elaborate manner. The windows ranging with the triforium are two on each side the central pilaster, quite small and plain, but windows have been inserted of an equally plain character, in the two outer ones with pointed arches, in the inner square-headed. The lowest row of windows, including those at the end of the aisles, have no jamb-shafts or other ornaments. Those in the Quire itself are now blocked up,

and, as no trace of them appears internally, and the inner wall is covered with the remains of ancient paintings, it would seem that they must have been destroyed at an early period.

Continuing our view to the South of the Quire, we must assign the external walls and windows of the Aisles and the lower story of the Transept to the earlier date, the Clerestory and upper windows of the Transept to the later. The Quire is short, consisting of only two bays, which are both in the Aisle and Clerestory divided by a pilaster. The lower windows, both of the Aisle and Transept, are unusually short, although the one in the Quire most to the East has been lengthened by having the string beneath it cut away, and afterwards again blocked up with masonry. This string is quite flat on its under surface, having had the roof of a cloister underneath it, as the Hospital buildings were on this side of the Church until they were rebuilt by Cardinal Beaufort to the North. At the angle of the Quire Aisle and the Transept is the celebrated triple arch which has given rise to so many different opinions. Whatever may have been its purpose, it is clear from its rich mouldings and its obtusely pointed arch that it belongs to the second period above referred to. It has at first sight the appearance of a Doorway in the Eastern wall of the Transept, for which, as the space between the adjoining pilaster and the wall of the Aisle was not sufficiently wide, room was found in the thickness of the latter wall, the superincumbent mass being supported by a

Doorway (?), South Transept

half-arch meeting the first arch near but not quite at its crown. The mouldings of the first arch, the chevron and cable, are continued in the other, though the latter, which forms the label, disappears in that part of the first arch which is within the thickness of the Aisle wall. The arch springs only from moulded imposts, except the half-arch, which rises from a shaft with one of the most beautifully sculptured capitals in the whole Church. The first arch is now blocked up with masonry crossed in two places with a wooden beam or architrave. The external appearance of this arch is certainly that of a doorway, but a doorway in an Eastern wall is rare, and the appearance within is most perplexing; the arch is distinctly visible, ornamented here with the embattled moulding, and the label is a continuation of the string which passes as a band round the vaulting shafts of the Quire Aisle; but the whole is filled up, and the space occupied by several recesses or ambries, and, what is of consequence, the seam in the masonry does not correspond with the arch, and the basement moulding is continued without interruption till the arch is passed, when it assumes a new form. Hence some have supposed that it was not a doorway, but a sort of buttery-hatch, whence the dole was given out. On an attentive consideration, I cannot venture to pronounce any positive opinion, but must leave the evidence to the decision of more competent judges. One thing however is plain, that whatever was the use of this arch, the half-arch is of the same date, and erected for the purpose of accommodating it as above mentioned. The upper windows in the Transept are round-headed and unornamented, but testify their late date in the label, and in the



Interior of Doorway (?). South Transept.

jamb, which is of two orders *chamfered*. The Clerestory windows resemble the upper row in the East end ranging with them. The roofs of the aisles have been lowered, so that the range of small pointed windows in the triforium, to be hereafter mentioned, appear externally; this gives the clerestory a disproportionate height for a Romanesque building; but the original height of the roofs, reaching to the string underneath the proper clerestory windows, can be clearly traced in the weather-moulding yet remaining against the East sides of the Transept. As it projects a little beyond the wall, one would think the Aisles had originally dripping roofs; indeed a more attentive examination has convinced me that such was the case throughout the Church. The coping of the Eastern gable is gone, and the weather-moulding may be traced on the western face of the small turrets: on the sides of the Quire the original mark of the roof may be seen below the present parapet; on the north side, consistent with the greater decoration of that part, it seems to have rested on a row of billets. An examination of the Nave and other parts will show that this was the case throughout, and that the parapets are a later addition; whether they are an improvement or not may admit of some controversy; I myself cannot but look upon them as adding a degree of finish altogether desirable in a building of so much pretension as the Church of St. Cross. I mentioned the greater decoration of the North side. Grievously as it has been objected to some of our best modern Churches that they have a "show" side, they must be content to share the blame with Winchester Cathedral, Romsey Abbey, and St. Cross. In all these the Cloister and domestick buildings were on the South side, and consequently the North side, as being more open to publick observation, was more richly decorated; in the Cathedral the row of pinnacles of the North Aisle of the Nave has no counterpart on the South; and, if this instance be referred to mechanical reasons, such cannot account for the difference at Romsey, where the arcade which adorns the Nave Clerestory on the open side is wanting on that towards the Cloister. Similarly at St. Cross, the windows, which on the South side are quite plain, both in the Aisle and Clerestory, are on the North, which was not concealed by domestick buildings, richly ornamented. I think this explanation is more probable than one which had before occurred to me, namely that, as these windows are the same

in the *section* of their jambs and architraves, as the plainer ones ranging with them[b], all were originally intended to receive the same amount of ornament, but those parts which admitted of superadded decoration (such as are the ornamental Norman mouldings, being enrichment of the *surface* only, without, like the Gothick mouldings, adorning the *section*,) were left in the block, as we continually find in the dripstone terminations of Gothick windows, which are often left square masses, but which were doubtless intended to be carved into heads or bosses of foliage. If this view were correct it might be supposed that, owing to the change of style, and introduction of another principle of ornament, this work was only continued throughout one side.

In the North Aisle, near the angle with the Transept, is a doorway of Transitional character, the arch being obtusely pointed, but the capitals and architrave rich Romanesque. Over it are the marks of two roofs, one a low gable, as if a porch of later date had been erected over it, the other a lean-to against the Transept. This latter, as it could hardly have been part of the Hospital buildings, may be the trace of some secular erection allowed to be placed against the Church and afterwards removed. The marks of several such may be traced against the walls of Romsey Church. The doorway is at present blocked up.

The walls of this Aisle interfere with the jamb mouldings of one of the lower windows of the North Transept, which is most uncomfortably squeezed in between them and the pilaster. This has given occasion to an ingenious suggestion that the Aisles were widened at the second period so often referred to, but the fact that the wall of the South Aisle is of the early period shows this opinion to be untenable.

The upper windows of the North Transept exhibit a third stage in the use of the pointed arch. Those in the South are still round-headed and plain, but of the later period, as appears from their chamfered jambs.

The Transept ends are the points at which the original and more modern domestick buildings join on to the Church. The South front has attached to it the only remaining portion of the Romanesque Hospital, which appears to be of the earlier

[b] These windows are all, if I mistake not, to be referred to the later period, but they exceed in decoration the others of the same date just as much as those of the earlier erection.

date, and has its masonry bonded into that of the Church. Above it are two segmental-arched windows, now blocked up, ranging with the Triforium, and a single window occupying the clerestory range, besides a small gable light. The North front has a large lancet window, and below it two of Romanesque character, corresponding with those in the North Aisle; the present Cloister is built against this front and is connected with the Church by a small plain doorway of the Perpendicular style. One of the Romanesque windows just mentioned is thus blocked up, but the use to which it was made available in the altered building cannot fail to be observed as a beautiful instance of the care and thoughtfulness of those who planned the Foundation. It is made to open by a shutter into the Infirmary, by means of which those who were prevented by sickness from attending publickly in the Church, were still allowed the privilege of participating in its holy services.

The Nave is of three bays; the Aisles exhibit the Transitional state of Architecture when this Church was erected, especially in the three windows on the South side, of which the first reckoning from the East is pure but late Romanesque, the second retains the round arch, but has otherwise Early English features, the third is pure Early English. The North porch, which is vaulted, and has a loft over it lighted by a very elegant little window of two lights with a cinquefoil in the head, is Early English also, as well as the South and West doorways. The latter deserves particular attention, as an excellent specimen of the double doorway of the style, and also for the bold and singular variety of the tooth ornament in its arch mouldings. The arches of the two openings are of the trefoil shape; the central shaft is a square pier with the angles chamfered so as to make it octagonal, the capital is mutilated. In the head is a small quatrefoil now glazed. The ground has risen so as to hide the bases of the jamb shafts.

The whole West front, though not set off with pinnacles or any other rich decoration, is admirable; it is well finished with buttresses and strings, and this elegant doorway, (see woodcut next page,) with the splendid Western window, the graceful lancets at the ends of the aisles, and the small gable lights, all form one of the most beautiful and simple compositions imaginable. The West window and Clerestory, all fully-developed Decorated, are the latest portions of the

original Church, which would seem to have been built at intervals during a period of more than a century, the date assigned to them being 1292. Their tracery exhibits a sort of Transition from the pure Geometrical to the Flowing; that of the Clerestory windows, which are of two lights, will be found to differ on the North and South sides. Having given a date to this part of the structure, I will mention a mistake which Dr. Milner has fallen into, which would otherwise have been more naturally treated of in describing the interior. That excellent antiquarian attributes this portion to a much later period, on the ground that the arms of Wykeham and Beaufort are to be seen on the key-stones of the vaulting: a more attentive examination, however, will show that the shields charged with these bearings are placed upon bosses of an earlier date, and the whole character of the roof is so palpably Decorated that there can be no reasonable controversy on the subject.

West Doorway.

In concluding the subject of the external architecture of this Church, I would remark that even the fully-developed Early English portions exemplify that adaptation to the preceding style which is not uncommon, and of which the Nave of Romsey Abbey is so memorable an instance. Thus the Early English windows are mostly of the short wide form, like those in the last mentioned Church, or the East Window of Iffley, or even the Transitional Clerestory of Oxford Cathedral. The long narrow lancet, the genuine window of the style, does not occur, unless the windows in the Transept fronts be considered as such. Like Romsey Abbey too, a very considerable difference[c] may be observed in the windows terminating the Aisles, the Northern one having rich mouldings stopped above the imposts, the Southern mere chamfers. In the window-

[c] Compare above, p. 7.

jambs of this part of the Church the shafts have commonly a round abacus and the capital merely moulded, without foliage, and we may remark the prevalence and ornamental construction of the stopped chamfer.

But, graceful as is the exterior of St. Cross, it is, as should ever be the case, far outshone by the splendour of the interior. Every ornamental feature which the style of that period admitted is there to be seen in its utmost beauty. The marble shafts and rich paintings with which the ancient architects sought, after the example of the natural creation, to add richness of colour to grace of proportion and harmony of detail, are indeed only to be recognised at intervals beneath the indiscriminating dingy yellow-wash with which the walls are now covered, and an additional coat of which is now actually threatened, the only pretence at repair which modern liberality can afford to the house on which a better age lavished its gold and silver; but time and man have spared in a great degree its other beauties; the elaborate capitals and mouldings, exquisite specimens of Norman art, remain, and the far higher merits of proportion are unimjured. For this Church stands forth preeminent in two respects among English Churches, being free from the two great faults of our national buildings; it is of sufficient height, and has stone-vaulting throughout, excelling in this many even of our Cathedrals and Abbeys. The whole, though built at so many different periods, is exquisitely harmonious and graceful. As it would be tedious to describe minutely every detail of a building where almost every window and pillar exhibits some distinctive peculiarity, I will, according to my original design, only point out its most remarkable features, especially those which bear on the important question of the Transition.

The Quire and Transepts belong to that period, but, where the original work remains, have the Romanesque character still strongly marked, except in the pointed pier and vaulting arches, and in the tendency to rounds and hollows in the mouldings; the abaci are still square, and all the capitals and ornamental surface mouldings retain the character of the late highly enriched Norman style.

The Quire, as far as the original work remains, is Romanesque, with the pointed arch introduced as an arch of construction throughout, while the semicircular form is retained as an arch of decoration. The responds of the pointed pier-

arches are banded half-clusters with rich Corinthianizing capitals, but the central pier on each side has been altered into a huge octagonal pillar of Perpendicular date; the bases, however, of the original columns remain, and as they correspond exactly with those of the pilasters supporting the vault of the Aisles, I am inclined to think that the original pier was, like them, a rectangular mass with shafts at the angles. It might be supposed at first that the complicated vaulting-shafts formed part of the pier, and that they were cut away at the alteration of the columns, but a more attentive examination will show that, though they certainly have been tampered with, they could not have extended much lower than they do at present, as their bases are distinctly visible; these bases having probably been formed into a sort of corbel, as is the case with some of the vaulting-shafts in the Transepts. So complicated a vaulting-shaft, as it is really a considerable cluster, is not often found rising from a corbel, but there can be little doubt that such is the case.

Above the pier-arches is the celebrated triforium of intersecting arches, to which Dr. Milner attributes the origin of the pointed style. It becomes us to speak gently of one who, though of course far behind the present advance of architectural knowledge, was at least as much before most of his own age equally in knowledge, taste, and reverence; but it will be hardly necessary to do more than allude to this as a mere exploded theory. It would be but an unsatisfactory account even of the origin of the pointed arch, nor does it plainly appear why these, more than the other pointed arches of the same date in this very Church, should have been fixed on for the purpose of elucidating this point; but farther than this, we have now learned more correctly to look on the pointed arch, though an essential feature of the Gothick style, and indeed its most easily recognised external mark, as being still, equally with its mouldings and other features, only one developement among many of the pervading vertical principle. As for these triforia, there can be little doubt that the windows which have been the occasion of so much controversy and theory, were merely opened through the elder arches for the purpose of giving additional light, at the same time that the roof of the aisle was lowered, that is most probably during the fifteenth century. The whole question of this triforium as connected with this point may be considered as set at rest by the con-

clusive remarks of Professor Whewell in his German Churches; but, as a mere matter of curiosity, it would be worth inquiring whether this arcade ever was really a *triforium*, that is, whether it ever was actually open as a gallery. There is now no passage, or any trace of one, except at the east end; the sides within form a splay to the windows, and the ornaments of the capitals are continued as a sort of frieze along the jamb. Yet the existence of a story above the Aisle is clear from the traces of the original roof; we can only then suppose that it was merely a dark passage *behind* the arcade, just lighted by these slits opening to the Quire. This, or something similar, is the case with all the triforia of the Church, which are in no part a continued arcade, such as we generally see, but only an occasional aperture; the only difference in the solid wall between this and the other instances being that elsewhere the apertures, where they occur, are flush with the inner face of the wall, while here they are flush with the outer, and are splayed inwards. The whole of the details of this triforium are rich and well worthy of attention. The clerestory has Romanesque windows with jamb shafts and a variety of elaborate mouldings; there is, as is common in large buildings of this date, a second triforium or passage along them.

The vaulting is pointed; the western bay is quadripartite, the eastern has a double cell, giving in a slight degree the effect of apsidal vaulting. The ribs are elaborately moulded, and some of them have mouldings so purely sectional, and in which the square section is so entirely lost, as to show that they belong to the very last days of Roman Architecture.

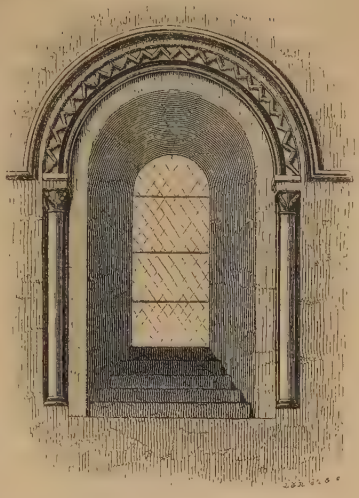
The Quire Aisles agree in their architecture with the Quire itself; the pointed vaulting, having ornamented cross springers, rises from Romanesque shafts; the arch between the two bays has a plain flat soffit, and springs from a flat pilaster to the angles of which are attached the shafts whence spring the ribs. The band of the shafts is continued as a string underneath the windows, which are round-headed, of two orders, without shafts, but richly adorned with the chevron. They have steps within the cill, which in the south Aisle serves to disguise the shortness of the part actually pierced for light. The Aisles open into the Transept by arches with very broad soffits, rising from rectangular piers with shafts at the angles, the

capitals of which are continued as a sort of frieze along the inner flat surface.

Thus far the whole interior, except some parts of the masonry of the walls not affecting the internal decoration, palpably belongs to the second period of the building, the end of the twelfth century; but the arches of the lantern might at first seem earlier, as, although pointed, they are perfectly plain, retaining the square section without any attempt at ornament either by sectional or surface mouldings. But the piers are intimately connected with the later work, and the nature of the shafts, clusters rising from corbels, and especially the section of these clusters, all show them to be quite late in the style; the corbels to the Nave Arch are palpably later alterations. An attentive examination of these piers will show that these shafts are purely ornamental, not entering even into the decorative construction, as the orders of the arch do not rise from their capitals; from this it has been ingeniously and probably suggested that it was intended to have added mouldings of a more elaborate character.

The Transepts still continue the same lesson as the Quire, but with some features of a yet later character; the pointed arch appears, in one instance at least, as an arch of decoration, and we have some portions which might be almost called Early English. The North Transept has pointed vaulting with late Romanesque mouldings rising from corbels with round abaci. But there may be seen in the North-east angle the remains of a base, connected with nothing at present remaining, and therefore apparently the only relick of the first period to be observed in the interior of the Church. The upper range of windows are lancet-shaped, and furnished with a triforium; these, with the vault, would almost seem to belong to a third period. The other windows are round-headed, mostly of two orders adorned with rich mouldings, but not furnished with shafts; one exhibits a very remarkable variety of the beak-head moulding developed into the complete form of a bird, which will be found engraved in the Glossary of Architecture. Another has sectional mouldings in the arch rising from a perfectly plain jamb; this is splayed only on one side, on account of the pilasters which was mentioned in the description of the outside as interfering with it. The same is the case with the corresponding window in the South Transept. The windows here exhibit several varieties of the style, and some of them

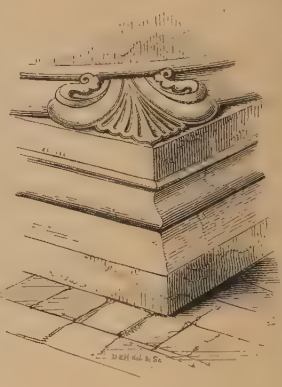
are remarkable for the finishing of the plaster within the splay with the chevron and scalloped mouldings. The segmental arches ranging with the triforium to the South are of two orders, springing from an impost on chamfered jambs. A small plain door in the South-east corner opens into a vaulted chamber, mentioned before as the only vestige remaining of the original Hospital. The vaulting is round, but the moulded ribs are not very early. There are several recesses or ambries remaining here.



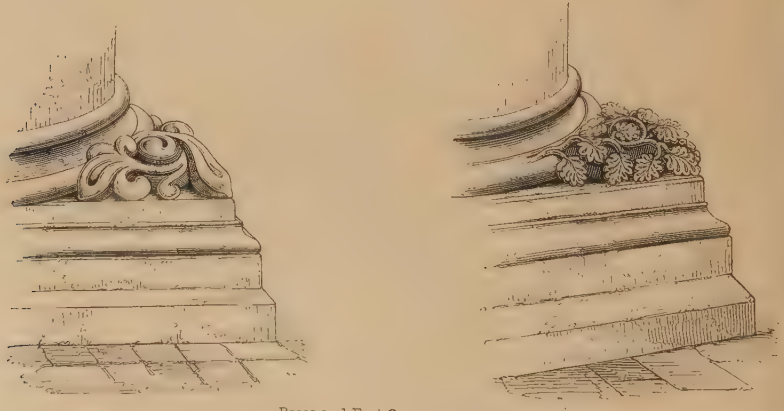
Window in South Transept.

The Tower at the intersection is, like those of the Cathedral and the Abbey of Romsey, low and massive, rising only one stage above the roof-line. The external appearance of the upper part does not give much positive indication of early date; but any one who will take the trouble to tread the mazes of the complicated triforia of this Church will discover a double wall in this part, and a passage between them; the inner wall being pierced with small windows of one light cinquefoiled in the head, which have the groove for the insertion of the glass remaining. As I have never seen these noticed before, I would recommend them to the especial notice of those better qualified than myself to decide on their real date and character; thus much however they seem to me to prove, that the whole tower was originally open to the interior of the Church, and that the row of arches now blank formed a sort of open gallery or outer triforium; for that they have been blocked up is evident, and the present meagre tracery, if it deserve the name, of the outer windows also appears to be an insertion. The lower story, ranging with the timber roofs of the building, is lighted by Perpendicular windows in the two extremities of an arcade of four, which exhibits some details of that period, but has so much more of the general look and idea of earlier work about it, that I cannot but think it is an alteration or adaptation of an anterior structure.

The Eastern part of the Nave has also marks of the Transition. Of the three arches, the first springs from a respond forming part of the Lantern piers, and like them exhibiting all the features of the Transitional period. The arch itself, which is obtusely pointed, is of the same date and still retains a degree of Romanesque character in its mouldings. Above it the Romanesque string-course continued from the band of the lantern piers terminates, and an Early English one begins, the point of change being marked by a bunch of foliage as in Romsey Abbey. From this point the fabrick must be called Early English, though traces may be seen of adaptation to the earlier work. Thus the piers are unbroken cylindrical columns of massive proportion, and though the abaci are round throughout, a slight Norman tinge may, I think, be still discerned in the escalloped moulding of the capital of the first pillar. And in the mouldings, though actually Early English, the orders of the arch are more distinctly marked than is usual in fully developed Gothick buildings. The responds at the West end are very elegant clusters, the inner order rising from a good corbel.



Base of Pier, Nave.

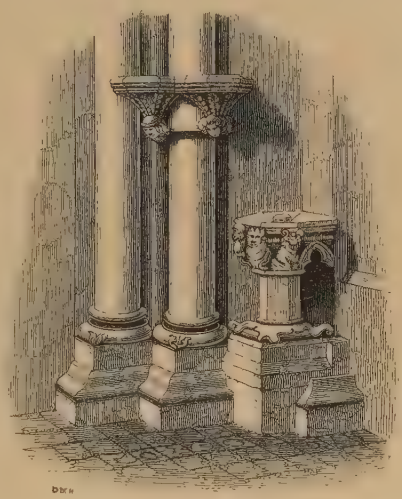


Bases and Foot Ornaments, Nave.

The Aisles in their windows and vaulting follow nearly the same course, except that the windows in the second bay are Romanesque; the third bay on the North side seems to have

vaulting contemporary with that of the Nave. This latter springs from corbels. The triforium below merely opens by an occasional arch.

The arrangements and fittings of the Church, though highly interesting, I must pass over cursorily, as having devoted so much space to those parts which illustrate the Transition. The stone skreens on each side of the High Altar are exceedingly curious and perplexing; as parts of the tabernacle-work seem to be broken off by the arch, they would almost appear to have been brought from some other part of the Church, and yet they do not seem to agree with any conceivable position elsewhere: from this and from the intermingling the details of several styles, they have been not improbably supposed to belong to the latest period of the art, when such mixture is often met with. The sites of altars may be seen also at the ends of the two Aisles of the Quire, and in the East wall of the South Transept, the latter, under a Transitional recess, very much resembling that of a Tomb. The encaustick tiles, the Piscina, the wooden Skreen-work, and especially the credence south of the Altar, are also well worthy of attention. The Quire is, as at Romsey, surrounded by a solid wall, but here it seems later, probably contemporary with the alteration of the columns. The Quire is fitted up with very curious cinque-cento stalls; on one of them among other names, is carved that of one of the Singing-Men with the date 1572, showing thus accidentally that the choral service and the provision made for its maintenance survived the spoliation which the Hospital underwent in the time of Henry VIII.



Piscina and Brackets, North Aisle of Quire

There are several ancient monumental remains; a Transitional niche occurs in the South Transept, and an Early Decorated one in the North Aisle of the Nave. There are also some good brasses; one in the Nave to John Campden, Master in the time of Wykeham, is the most remarkable. The Font

remains in the Nave, a Norman bason mounted on a later base, as at Dorchester Abbey Church.

The Church appears to have suffered very much as to its arrangements, by being made a place of parochial worship for the Parish of St. Faith; the arrangement of some of the stalls has been altered, and pews and other incumbrances introduced.

I may be allowed to mention in conclusion one thing which may appear at first sight of small moment; all the small openings intended to air the timber roof have been glazed, or otherwise filled up. The consequence is that the heat of the space above the vaulting is insupportable, and I should imagine that it must also be very detrimental to the timbers. It would be very desirable that this danger should be remedied at the first opportunity.

The domestick buildings of the Hospital are highly interesting and beautiful, but as, from their date and style, they throw no light on the chief object of the present enquiry, I shall not attempt more than a brief enumeration of their more remarkable features. They form three sides of a quadrangle, which is nearly completed by the Nave of the Church; some straggling buildings also extend to the exterior of the chief gateway, being themselves approached by a subordinate one. The Gate-House, situated in the North side of the square, is admirable; it is a massive square tower rising nobly above the high roofs on each side, and well supported by buttresses and by an octagonal turret in one corner which gives much character to the outline. The gateway itself is very good, having a well-moulded depressed arch, and externally rich spandrels. The other chief object of interest is the Hall, which has an excellent, though simple, timber roof of high pitch, and is well buttressed, with very graceful windows of two lights. The whole of the buildings group well with the Church, and add very much to its effect from whatever point it is viewed.

E. A. FREEMAN.

CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY CHURCH.

Hampshire is rich in noble churches; setting aside her gigantic cathedral, she can boast of Romsey Abbey, St. Cross Hospital Church, and Christchurch Priory[a]. These three churches should be always ranked together. They are interesting for their resemblances, and interesting likewise for their differences. The nature and the cause of those differences will form an important part of these few feeble gropings after the deciphering of those wondrous epics of old, deep thinking, little writing, times, with which your kindness has allowed me to trouble you. Of course, as in duty bound, I shall make Christchurch the centre of the picture.

The first and the most obvious resemblance between our churches is that they still are, more or less, but all to a great degree, fine specimens of the last years of that beautiful, awfully beautiful, but still imperfect style, Romanesque, just before architecture burst into the full, buoyant, free, aspiring nobleness of pointed vault,

> And storied window richly dight.

But they have another deeper resemblance. All men can see that they belong to what we may call our middle class churches, churches which occupy a middle position between the stupendous bulk of York and Winchester Cathedrals, and the small gracefulness of Hawton and Porchester. But when they have realized this, they have realized but little. Boston and Newark are also middle class churches, and respectively of almost precisely the same length as Christchurch[b] and Romsey, but yet they are as different from them in feature, as the cathedral is from the smallest parish church, and the reason of this difference is, that they are parochial, while Romsey, St. Cross, and Christchurch belonged to religious communities.

So far for resemblances, but we have not yet done. We now arrive at important differences in the destination of our three churches, and these differences, as I shall soon proceed to

[a] It is curious how the dedication of this church has supplanted the original name of the town, which is Twynham.

[b] Christchurch is 311 feet long. Boston about the same. Romsey and Newark about 240. St. Cross about 150.

shew, were probably the reason of some of the architectural varieties existing between the three buildings.

You observe that I called one of these churches an abbey, another a hospital church, and the remaining one a priory; and these names are not given at random. The three churches belonged to three totally distinct communities, Romsey to Benedictine nuns, St. Cross to bedesmen, Christchurch to Austin canons, and we shall find that these respective orders had probably varieties of arrangements in their churches, which I shall make clear to you by saying that they were differences much the same in kind as you will find existing between the fittings of this court and those of the town hall down the street.

I shall now proceed to an examination of Christchurch, beginning at the west end, and applying the examples I intend bringing forward in proof of what has just been hazarded, as they are suggested by the various parts of that building.

I shall not be blamed, I trust, for giving it as my opinion, consistently with the hesitation with which an unfavourable and somewhat hasty judgment should always be accompanied, that the exterior of Christchurch is disappointing from its having too great a dash of the parochial character, arising from its only remaining tower being at the west end, and its transepts being lower than the main pile. These impressions vanish as soon as ever we enter the church. Nearly, not quite all, of Christchurch which is not Romanesque, belongs to the last declining days of pointed architecture, this may afford an interesting subject for reflection; strong contrasts are always suggestive.

The nave is a noble and nearly unmixed specimen of English Romanesque, with however a very early pointed clerestory. There are however finer specimens of Romanesque to be found in England. To take the triforium, which it is not, I trust, too much to say, occupies the same important position in fixing the expression of any church possessed of triforia, that the eyes do to that of the human countenance. We can find nothing to blame in the triforium of Christchurch, it is a good bold work, but yet it does not shew mind; it is correct, but yet it would not arrest the particular attention of any one who does not, like myself, take especial note of the triforia in the churches which he visits. It cannot for one instant be put on a level either with that most original, most light and graceful composition, Romsey triforium, or, to take another instance,

that of a triforium which rests its claims to attention on proportion alone, with the majestic symmetry of that in the nave of Ely; a production which among the Romanesque triforia of England, may claim the same precedence which above all pointed ones is justly due to Westminster's most faultless gallery path. Ely triforium is a later work than that of Christchurch, whose nave, it may be interesting to observe, is the work of the same prelate who built that of Durham, Ralph Flambard, an avaricious and dastardly buffoon, who swayed William Rufus, and the English Church, moreover, in the interregnum between the death of Bishop Lanfranc and the consecration of St. Anselm.

A gorgeous rood-screen of the third age of pointed architecture, now pared down and mutilated, leads to the choir, of the same style. The rood-screens both of Romsey and of St. Cross have disappeared; had they not, I should not probably, as you will perceive, have troubled you at so great length. This screen is placed between the two eastern piers of the lantern, leaving the transepts open to the nave, so that the ritual and the architectural choirs corresponded, and the nave was left unincumbered, for the laity to occupy in their devotions, or to throng when sermons were being preached. This corresponds to what our notion of an Austin canons' church should be. Austin canons had to do with daily life, they were at the first instituted by the illustrious and sainted bishop of Hippo, to wrestle as from out a castle with the world, rather than to retire as into a hermitage from it; and the archæologist, or to define more exactly the precise nature of our present investigations, the ecclesiologist might justly anticipate beforehand that their nave would be roomy and convenient for congregational purposes.

Now let us revive in imagination the ancient arrangements of Romsey. What have nuns to do with congregations? Is it decorous for the laity to be admitted within their quiet churches? Such are the questions which our traveller would justly ask himself, and he would not unreasonably expect to find a nunnery church, such as Romsey was, all choir, like the Chapel of Winchester College, with just an antechapel, that vanishing point of naves, instead of which he descries a huge cathedral-looking church, with choir, and transepts, and a nobly proportioned nave. Well, let him enter the church with me by the west door,—we find none, and proceed round to the north portal, and our ecclesiologist eagerly

hurries across the aisle to catch the splendid perspective of the nave, and just as he enters it, falls headlong. On examining the reason of this disaster he finds that the level of the aisles is slightly raised above that of the nave. He gets up, piqued, and probably pronounces the choir to be too short in proportion to the rest of the church. You will ask me, why all this trifling? I now come to the point, and assert that on the one hand the antecedent probability of what a nunnery church would be, and on the other the existence of these three features, a west end without a door, aisles slightly raised as if to prop something placed against them, and a very short eastern limb, all prove that Romsey Abbey Church had, properly speaking, very little nave indeed in ancient times, that the nuns' stalls reached a considerable way down what appears in the denuded state of the church to be the nave, and that the laity who could freely enter the church of the Austin canons, found in the close west end a most unmistakeable and enduring denial. So that, after all, the plan of Winchester College Chapel and Romsey Abbey Church was not so very dissimilar. The life-long devotion to religious exercises of the nuns found a use for aisles and transepts, which Wykeham's school-boys had not, and so the great discrepancy in the ground-plan of the two buildings is accounted for[c].

I have dwelt so long upon Romsey that I will only say that I believe the internal arrangement of St. Cross to have been not dissimilar, only that it possesses a west door, but it likewise possesses a font, if indeed this be not removed from elsewhere, and it would in truth be very inhospitable if a parish or a cathedral church (and none but a parish or a cathedral church ever possessed a font) shut its doors on its own parishioners. So this little arrangement, supposing it to be original, is enough to tell the archæologist that St. Cross was built for parochial as well as collegiate purposes, as we know Merton College Chapel at Oxford, which accordingly was designed, though the design was never carried into execution, to have

[c] Since writing the above I have been informed by a friend that documentary evidence still exists of the parish church having originally been in the north aisle of the church. In the time of Wykeham the parishioners petitioned for leave to enlarge it by building a second aisle from the porch to the transept. The walled-up arcade is still visible, the windows having been removed and built up into the new wall. The fact of the aisle, and not as sometimes in monks' churches the nave, having been used for parochial purposes, strengthens my general argument, while it varies the particular application of it.

had a nave. Merton College Chapel is still a parish church as well as a college chapel, and the environs of St. Cross are still an extra parochial liberty, that is, in other words, they form a sort of autocratic parish. I do not say that no nunneries had west doors, but I do assert that if in a large church no west door is found, there must have been some reason for it, either moral as in this case, or physical as in that of Durham Cathedral.

You will permit me to take you with me for a few moments into the neighbouring county of Sussex, to examine in proof of my position a very remarkable arrangement to be found there. On its extreme eastern border, in a hilly woody region, lie the ruins of the old religious house of Bayham, once an abbey of Premonstratensian canons, an order I must premise of great strictness. This church is 257 ft. long, longer than Romsey, and of the middle or Decorated age of pointed architecture. Yet its eastern limb is very short, and still more shortened in a practical point of view[d] by its apsidal termination, and the church, though possessed of transepts, and east chapels to the transepts, has absolutely no side-aisles at all, so that it is only 24 ft. broad internally. The stalls came a long distance down the nave; we know, thanks to an undestroyed stringcourse, their precise length. Here then is a church that tells its own tale; stern Premonstratensian canons, in forests wanted no congregations, and cared for no processions, therefore they built their church like a long room; but still they desired shew that they held the religion of the cross, and their usages, whether general or peculiar ones, required side-chapels, so they built the transepts and chapels. Here comes a difficulty. They had no aisles, and the rood-screen cut athwart the church,—how communicate between the transepts and the west end? Therefore to the west of the rood-screen they pierced doorways, still existing, and ran passages to the transepts, along the church wall and external to it. Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge, once the nunnery church of St. Rhadegund, while still a nunnery church had aisles; when Bishop Alcock made it a college chapel, he shortened the nave and pulled down the aisles. One objection must be met, I may be asked how I know that the position of the old choir at Christchurch was not altered at the time of its being rebuilt. I answer because the present is raised on a crypt.

[d] Altars used formerly to stand in the chord of the apse in apsidal churches.

To return from this somewhat long digression. The choir of Christchurch is very pleasing, from its still retaining its ancient features with so little alteration. There stands the double row of misereres, without one bit of pucing being added to spoil their graceful lines: the gorgeous reredos shews no marks of the fanatical mattock: the chantry chapel spreads out its varied mouldings: the bosses and the capitals still retain their primitive polychrome. In short, this choir has a most genuine appearance, owing in a great degree to the nave being fitted up for congregational purposes. The stalls are very curious, as standing on the very verge, the battle-field itself, so to speak, of pointed and of cinque-cento art, the schools of Athens and Cologne; to which they most belong I can hardly say. The chantry chapel is very curious, not only from its containing, mixed up with its pointed details, long stripes of arabesque mouldings, but from its having been built to cover the remains of the last Plantagenet, the noble Margaret Pole, countess of Salisbury: alas, her honoured limbs never rested there, for she fell an aged victim to that relentless thing, a Tudor monarch's jealousy. The reredos is one of the same type as those of Winchester, St. Alban's, and St. Mary's Overie, and is now the richest of the four. Over the altar lies asleep, as the traditionary representation is, the patriarch Jesse, and from him springs that root which flowered and bore such goodly blossom. On either side of him are placed the kings David and Solomon, the former of course playing upon his harp, a figure of exquisite grace. The rest of the sacred line are less conspicuous. In the central compartment of the reredos is sculptured a representation of the Epiphany, in which I remark a very curious peculiarity. St. Mary is represented reclining nearly at full length, and holding Our Blessed Lord upright. St. Joseph is leaning over her. Consequently the king, who is making his offering, almost crouches upon the ground. In the south aisle of the choir three sculptures are preserved, having been dug up, and clearly forming part of a history of St. Mary, as they represent the Epiphany, Assumption, and Coronation, (the latter by the way heretofore shewn as Queen Esther before Ahasuerus.) In this representation too of the Epiphany, St. Mary is placed in the same attitude[e]. The design of the figures which occupy

[e] I have been told of a similar representation in a church in Derbyshire. I think Bolsover.

the reredos is much superior to their execution. The upper part is now filled up with wooden boarding, in consequence of a chamber having been built at some time between the Reformation and Rebellion over the Lady-chapel, which is now used as a school-room[f]. The builders of this hideous excrescence have capped it with the old quatrefoil parapet of the choir.

The Lady-chapel, built by the West family, is of the same level as the nave. Its roof, like that of the choir, is of a complicated form of tracery, approaching the intersections of fan-work without ever fully swelling into its wonderful fulness. The original altar slab, of Purbeck marble, with the five crosses, is not displaced. The whole of this chapel is a rich specimen of the third phase of pointed architecture. The fragments of a curious Romanesque font, which have lately been dug up, lie in this chapel. On the east side of the north transept is a beautiful little chapel of Early Middle Pointed date, and answering to it against the south transept a Norman apsidal chapel.

My object has rather been to make some observations than to furnish a systematic description of it. I shall therefore barely mention the curious circular Romanesque turret, covered with bold reticulated work, attached to the north-east angle of the north transept. The north porch is marvellously beautiful. It is of the earliest days of pointed architecture, surrounded with an arcade, and not unlike the galilee porch of Ely in general spirit. The groining has either never been completed, or it has been destroyed, and the porch is open to the parvise. The north door has the usual central shaft, and the quatrefoil in its head for the image of Our Blessed Lord, either in glory or in His Mother's arms, is very curious; the upper part projects so as to make a sort of canopy, and the side limbs of the quatrefoil are cut off by straight shafts of Purbeck marble. Is it not possible that the quatrefoil in this position may be the vesica or aureole given in a cruciform shape? The aureole or vesica encircling this body was the appropriate badge of Our Blessed Lord coming in Majesty to Judgment, and such occurs in the Dooms sculptured over the west door of Rochester and the south door of Ely, both

[f] Mr. Ferrey, in his History of Christchurch, holds a contrary opinion as to the date of the chamber. I formed my impression from a casual and external inspection merely.

Romanesque. In the Judgment over the south choir door of Lincoln, of the last days of First or earliest of Middle Pointed, The Saviour is in a quatrefoil. I must be understood to hazard this as a mere conjecture.

Some of the clerestory windows of the choir have lately been restored in a feeble manner, and the west window has been filled with tracery, unhappily of a totally anomalous character, as the heads of the lights are bare of foliation, and though the window is meant to be of the third age, the head is filled with a small octofoil circle.

The nave moreover has been filled with uniform seats of a tasteless design, with frightful iron poppy-heads. It was vaulted some years back in plaster by Mr. Garbett. Considering the poverty of the parish, and the immense size of the church, it is kept in a state of very creditable neatness.

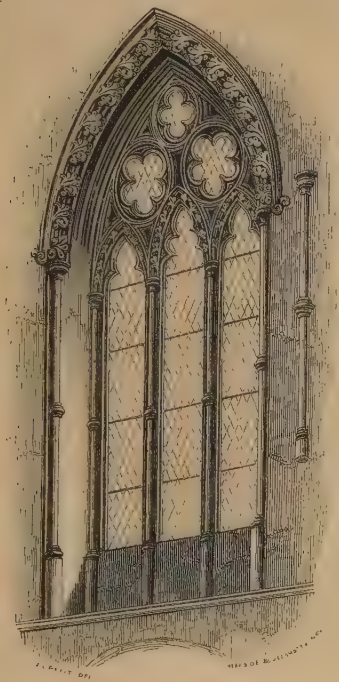
The situation of Christchurch, its overlooking the Isle of Wight and the Needles, and the Channel at their feet, with the Avon almost washing its east end, is very beautiful.

A. J. B. HOPE.

Ramsey

ROMSEY ABBEY CHURCH.

BY THE REV. J. L. PETIT.



EAST WINDOW OF CHOIR

The abbey church of Romsey is valuable as presenting the outline and general aspect of a purely Norman conventual church, more completely than any building of equal dimensions in England. For although a considerable portion of the nave belongs to a later style, yet if we notice how carefully the later part of the fabric is made to harmonize with the earlier, and compare the whole with the more perfect Norman naves which remain, we shall be led to conclude that the dimensions and proportions intended by the original architects are preserved throughout, and the whole design

followed as nearly as the difference of styles would permit. The choir, transepts, and tower, evidently retain their original plan and elevation, changed only by the depression of roofs and gables, and alterations in the parapets; these are trifling when compared with those which almost every Norman church in the country has undergone. Many have their choirs extended or rebuilt on a different scale, as Carlisle, Ely, Southwell, Selby, Christ Church, and others. Some have a large superstructure on the old choir, as Tewkesbury, Gloucester, and Norwich, which completely changes the character, even if it be accompanied with little deviation from the ground-plan. And the erection of later towers, or the addition of a story to the older ones, as at Kirkstall, or of a spire, as at Norwich, however little the rest of the church may have been changed, gives the whole a different aspect from that intended by the builder.

The church is cruciform, with a low massive tower at the intersection. Both the nave and choir have aisles, those of the latter extending a bay eastward of its termination, thus forming a transverse aisle behind the altar. The aisles terminate eastward in apsides; there is also an apse on the east side of each transept. The arrangement of the east end is remarkable, as it is divided by a central pier, to which a flat external buttress corresponds, having on each side of it a window. This bisection of a front is common in the transepts of Norman churches, and occurs occasionally in the west end; Buildwas abbey, for instance, has two western windows; but it is comparatively of rare occurrence at the east end. An eastern couplet sometimes occurs in Early English, as at Bakewell in Derbyshire. At Glasgow, where the style is Early English, a bisection, similar to that in Romsey, is seen; of later buildings, Dorchester, near Oxford, affords a fine example; but such instances appear to be limited in number.

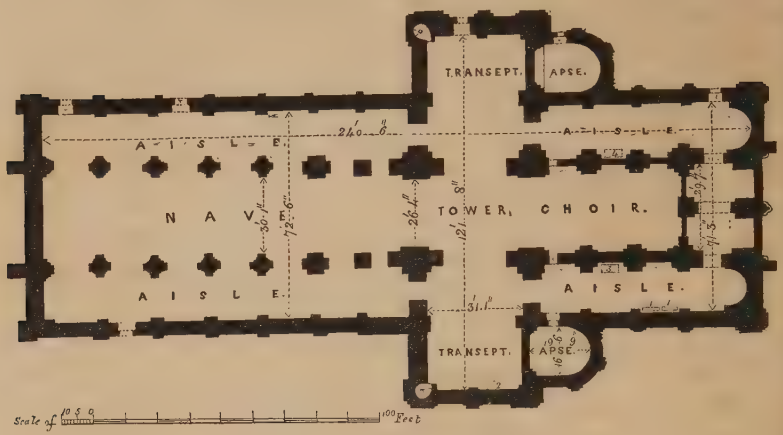
Another peculiarity is the construction of the eastern apsides, which have their curved form only in the interior, the outside wall being flat; an arrangement we should look for rather in chapels belonging to castellated buildings, than in regular churches. The only similar instance I can recollect at present is in the cathedral at Worms; where the principal eastern apse is internal, the front presenting a flat

surface. The transeptal apsides have a circular exterior. A chapel of Decorated character has evidently been built at the extreme east end of the church; whether this was an addition, or whether it replaced a structure of Norman date, can only be ascertained by carefully examining the foundations. The coincidence of dimensions between the span of the vault inside, and that of the arch now walled up, which appears on the outside, together with the continuance of an ancient painting (as shewn by the displacement of a stone) through the wall of the present building, seems to favour the latter supposition; but as the painting in question is apparently of the Decorated period, it hardly proves it; and we find an east end somewhat similar to that under consideration, at Byland abbey in Yorkshire.

From the very limited number of unaltered chancels which remain, it would not be easy to pronounce upon the usual way in which they were finished. It is not improbable that our earliest churches were mostly apsidal, but we know that many buildings belonging to the Norman period were terminated by a flat front. That of Romsey could not have had a large principal apse, like that of Peterborough, for the face of the eastern wall, above the aisle, excepting some insertions which will be noticed, is entire. Stewkely, in Buckinghamshire, gives a perfect and beautiful example of a flat east end of the Norman style. That of Buildwas is unchanged, except that two tiers of round-headed windows are converted into one, by cutting away the intermediate spaces, so that it now exhibits a lofty Norman triplet. The east end of Kirkstall abbey, and of St. John's, Devizes, appear always to have been flat; these three examples are however late in the style, the pointed arch being used in the building.

Wherever the church finishes in an apse, it should specially be noticed, whether the semicircular part is a mere continuation of the lateral walls, as at Canterbury, or whether it is attached to a flat wall that may terminate in a gable, as in most of the Romanesque churches in Germany. This distinction may be found valuable as a criterion of date. Kilpeck church, in Herefordshire, affords a good example of the latter kind of apse, which is as clearly distinguished from the chancel as the latter from the nave.

The principal dimensions of Romsey church are as follows:—



GROUND PLAN OF ROMSEY CHURCH.

Total length of interior, from the western wall of the aisle to the most distant point of the eastern apse corresponding to it, 240 ft. 6 in.: if the measurement were taken along the centre of the nave and choir, it would give a little additional length, on account of the thickness of wall in the apse.

Total interior width of nave and aisles, 72 ft. 6 in.

Extreme breadth of the interior at the intersection, 121 ft. 8 in.

Width of the nave, between the bases of the piers, 30 ft. 1 in.

Span of the eastern and western arches of the tower, 26 ft. 4. in.

Square of the tower externally, about 42 ft. 7 in.; from north to south, 41 ft. 9 in.

Height of the tower, from the upper part of its parapet, to the upper part of the parapet of the nave, 31 ft. 10 in.

Height of the north transept, from the top of the parapet to the ground, 61 ft. 4 in.

There is a difference in height of about 8 in. between the transept parapet and that of the nave; so that the whole height of the tower from the ground is 92 ft. 6 in.

Height of the nave aisle, from the top of the parapet to the lowest point of the base moulding, 26 ft. 1 in.

Length of the nave, from the external face of the tower to that of the west end, 134 ft.

Choir, measured in the same way, 52 ft. 5 in.

Consequently, if we add 42 ft. for the width of the tower, we shall find the total length of the building, taken above the aisles, to be 228 ft. 5 in.

Length of the north transept, measured in the same manner, 47 ft. 9 in.

The south transept is about the same.

Thickness of wall in the north transept front, taken at the door, 5 ft. 6 in.

In this table of dimensions we notice the shortness of the eastern limb of the cross, which exceeds only by a few feet the length of either transept. This peculiarity is very general in pure Norman buildings[a], though at a very early period in the succeeding style the part eastward of the tower was much lengthened; of this New Shoreham, and Boxgrove, in Sussex, afford striking examples.

We should also notice the very small projection of the tower-piers into the central passage of the building, their upper part being supported by a bracket; this leads us to infer that the choir extended westward of the tower. The same arrangement is observed in many large conventual churches, in every style, even when the eastern limb of the church is of considerable length: Rievaulx abbey, in Yorkshire, furnishes a remarkable instance. Its choir is a fine Early English one, of no less than 7 bays; yet a considerable part of the tower-arch rests on shafts supported by rich brackets, at a greater height than the capitals of the aisle-piers. The same carefulness not to interfere with the area of the central passage, by any projection of the tower-piers, is shewn in Peterborough cathedral, and in Great Malvern church, among many other examples that might be named: also in Buildwas abbey, where a peculiarity in the bases of the nave-piers (which exhibit a certain moulding on the side facing the aisles, but are plain towards the central passage) gives reason to

[a] Stow church, in Lincolnshire, offers an exception to this rule. The chancel, which is Norman, consists of three bays, and is fifty feet long internally, the length of the nave westward of the tower being less than sixty feet.

suppose that the part used as a choir might have extended nearly the whole length of the nave. But in smaller churches the chancel-arch with its piers formed a very decided division; indeed it is sometimes so much narrower than the nave, as to give room on each side for an arch of considerable width.

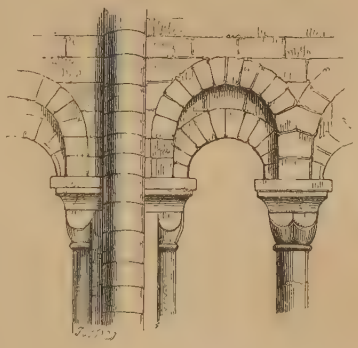
The Norman work of Romsey church, as we now see it, was probably commenced a little before the middle of the 12th century; and it would be difficult to find a purer, grander, or more characteristic specimen of the style. The piers are mostly upon a plan formed by the intersection, at right angles, of two or more rectangular parallelograms, the faces being set cardinally, and having engaged shafts, most of the re-entering angles being also occupied by shafts. The cylindrical pier is however used in the nave, near the tower; and is carried up into the triforium. It also occurs in the triforium of the south transept. A bold torus or convex moulding is used freely in the arches, many of which are enriched with the chevron and billet. The triforium mostly consists of a large round arch, under which are two with a shaft between them; but the composition presents this peculiarity, that from the common spring of these two arches, immediately above the shaft, rises a smaller shaft which runs up to the head of the principal arch; the subordinate arches being detached from the wall, and having, which is very unusual, an outside curve corresponding with the archivolt.

Clerestory, South Transept

The clerestory consists of a triplet with shafts, having a passage along the wall; the central arch being pierced for light. When I visited the abbey a few years ago, there was a kind of flying arch across this central opening, as if meant as an abutment to the lateral arches; I cannot tell whether this was a part of the original work; it has since been removed.

The central tower was evidently open as a lantern; and it is proposed that this arrangement shall be restored during the present repairs. Its effect must have been very fine, for although perfectly plain on the outside, it is ornamented in the inside with two ranges of arches. In the lower of these we notice a peculiarity which shews how carefully the medieval architect studied position and point of view. The capitals support an arch of two orders, which are not concentric, the upper one being stilted, and the lower one somewhat depressed; a combination far from pleasing, when placed on the level of the eye, but to the spectator below, the fore-shortening of the vertical line between the highest points of the arches would reduce the composition to harmony. Of the arches in the upper tier, it may be remarked, that they are as purely Roman in their design, as any specimen of antiquity.

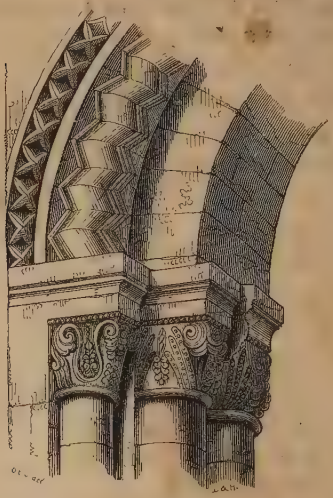
Belfry Window.



Belfry Arcade.

Few buildings tell more plainly the history of their progress to completion. The choir, central tower, and transepts, were first built in the Norman style, which they still retain throughout, with comparatively a small number of subsequent insertions. The four first bays of the nave, from the tower, were also completed in the same style up to the string under the

clerestory. But an increased number of mouldings in the

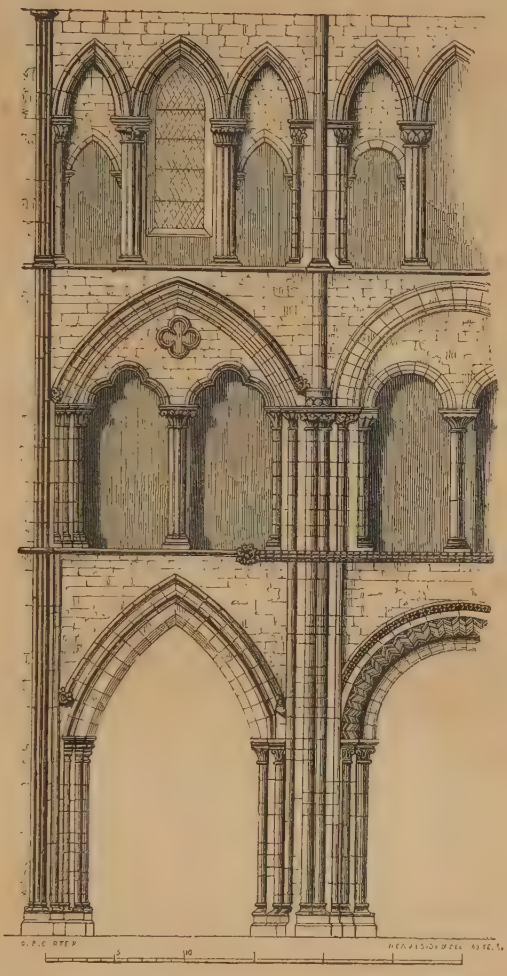


Springing of Transition Arch of Nave

triforium of the westernmost of these bays, shews that the transition had already begun; and here was probably the limit of the actual Norman work; but it is likely that the Norman design comprehended the whole length of the present building. Whether the foundations of the three western bays are Norman might possibly be ascertained by examining the masonry.

The clerestory of the four first bays belongs to that style of pointed architecture called the transition; distinguished from the Early English as retaining some characteristics of the Norman, especially the square abacus. The most frequent and extensive examples of this are found on the continent; (I may name Lisieux, in Normandy, as one of the nearest and best;) we have however some very fine specimens in England, as the front of Old Malton church, in Yorkshire. But Romsey exhibits the transition into this style from the Norman. The clerestory of the first bay on the south side has a pointed arch enriched with the chevron; and it is remarkable that this is the only arch in the whole clerestory range so ornamented; as if the architect, in abandoning the ancient forms, was anxious to preserve some of the characteristic features to which he had been accustomed. Nor is this a solitary instance. In the tran-

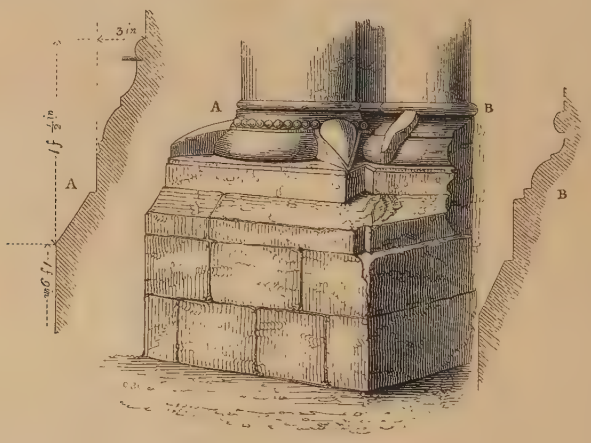
Ramsey



TWO COMPARTMENTS OF NAVE.

sition church of Northbourne, near Sandwich, in Kent, the central tower is supported by three round arches, and one pointed: the former have plain mouldings; the latter, the western arch, is, like the specimen above noticed, enriched with the Norman ornament of the chevron. In other instances, as at Selby, in Yorkshire, the transition takes a different course, the arches continuing round, while the mouldings, as well as the sections of the piers, indicate a decided advance to the Early English.

The opposite bay of the clerestory at Romsey also has Norman features; and if we compare the base of the pier dividing the fourth and fifth bays of the nave, with those on each side, we shall perceive that it shews the transition of style to be in progress. The fourth pier-arch on the north side has a band of the toothed ornament round it.



Norman Base, South Aisle of Nave.

The three western bays of the nave are purely Early English; a very small interval of time must have elapsed between the completion of the former part, and the commencement of these. But though distinct in style, this new portion is made to harmonize, in a great measure, with the older work. For while the square abacus is abandoned for a round or octagonal one, the rectangular basements of the piers are still retained; a feature which may always be looked upon either as a mark of early work, or else of an attempt at

assimilation with a previous style. We notice it at Wells cathedral.

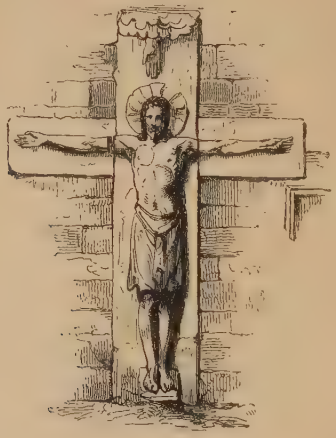
The shafts in front of the piers, instead of branching out into the springers and arches of a vault, which would undoubtedly have been the case in an original Early English building of the same importance, run vertically to the top of the wall, where they meet the timber roof.

The pointed pier-arches, and those of the triforium, that they may correspond in height and width with their Norman neighbours, are necessarily made segmental, and the external buttresses are flat pilasters. The points both of correspondence and of contrast, in the two adjacent bays, ought to be carefully studied.

But in the west front the architect was altogether freed from the necessity of conforming to Norman proportions; and how he felt and appreciated his emancipation from the restraint, he has shewn by a composition not exceeded in grandeur by any structure of similar dimensions. A vast triplet of lancet windows, the principal one of which is about forty feet in height, occupies the central compartment. No western door interferes with the simplicity of the design. A wide pointed arch, reaching into the gable, and having in its head an elegant cinquefoiled opening, comprehends the whole. The aisles have each a pointed window of one light, with a shaft in each of the jambs. The buttresses, instead of being mere pilasters, are large masses of masonry projecting with several slopes, and the basement is remarkably bold and characteristic. This last feature entirely compensates for the want of a western door, which otherwise might have been felt as a defect. There are fine Early English doors, with shafts, and capitals of foliage, on the north and south sides of the nave.

Up to the completion of the structure, as we have described it, no alteration or insertion of importance seems to have been made; but no sooner was it finished at the west end, than new works were designed and commenced at the east. The first of these was probably the Lady-chapel, now destroyed. Two of its windows are partially preserved, and re-erected, though not very artificially, as the present east windows of the aisle. But those of the choir itself, which have been inserted in the place of the old Norman ones, are very beautiful specimens of

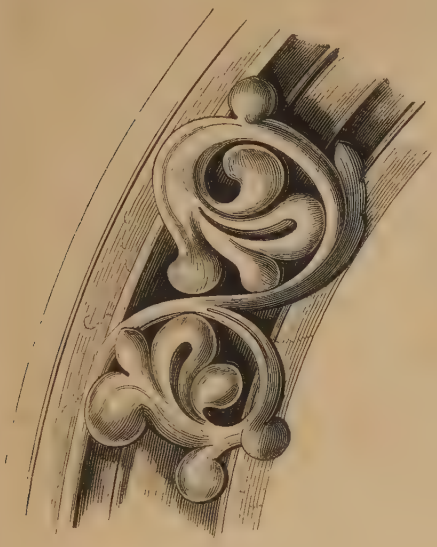
the earliest Decorated window. They are of three lights, with wide shafted mullions, and geometrical tracery of foliated circles in their heads. The jambs internally are enriched with knobs of foliage, the design of the two windows, in this respect, being not quite the same. In many points these windows have more of an Early English than a Decorated character. Their date is probably earlier than the cloisters and chapter-house at Salisbury. Next to these followed the insertion of some flowing Decorated windows in the north aisle of the choir; their tracery is now lost, but they appear to have been reticulated windows of three lights. A two-light window in the south aisle of the nave, and perhaps the pinnacles at the end of the choir, are also marks of the Decorated in its advanced stage. The north aisle of the nave has had all its Norman buttresses and windows replaced by others of a later character. Of these, one is a good Perpendicular window of four lights, and appears early in the style. Some debased windows are inserted under the Norman clere-



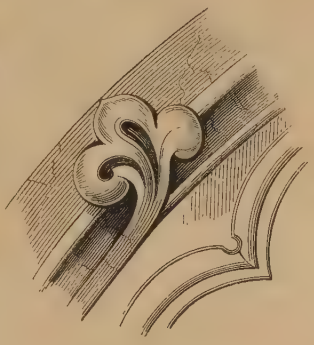
Holy-Rood Figure, West side, South Transept

story arches in the choir; a tall round-headed triplet on the west side of the south transept is evidently varied from the original. The gables, and external roofs and parapets, have undergone the changes which so few large buildings escape, the pitch of the former having been much lowered, even where they have

not been, as in the choir and south transept, altogether destroyed. The upper part of the staircase turret of the tower, that also at the angle of the south transept, and one or two doors, are late additions.



Foliage to outer Arch, East Window of Choir

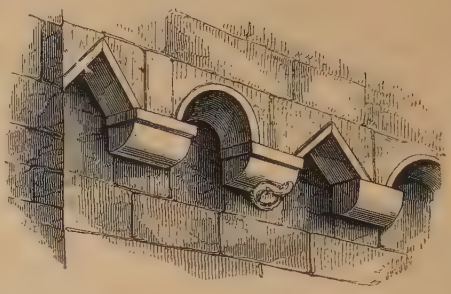


Foliage in head of lights, East Window of Choir

The nave has an open timber roof, that might be referred to the early Perpendicular; its frame-work forms a number of low segmental arches at small distances, connected by longitudinal beams, the principal intersections being marked by bosses. The roof of the choir is boarded, and forms a kind of elliptical vault, divided by ribs into square and oblong hexagonal compartments. The aisles and apsides are vaulted, with ribs, according to their respective styles. The remains of a rich Norman door, now walled up, appear in the eastern bay of the south aisle of the nave; and there is a Norman door between the choir and the north aisle, which has apparently been moved from some other part of the building.

This fine edifice is rather distinguished by massiveness and simplicity, than by profusion of ornament. Yet its enrichments are not wanting either in variety of design or delicacy

of execution. The corbel-tables alone would form a valuable study. In the choir-aisles, and apsides, two small arches occupy the space between two of the corbels or brackets. In parts of the south aisle of the nave a round arch alternates with a straight-sided pointed one, as at Iffley. In the transitional part, the round and curvilinear pointed arch alternate; in the Early English part the trefoil arch predominates.



Corbel-table, South Aisle of Nave.

Corbel-table, South Aisle of Choir

The Corbel-table, Early English part.

The vaulting ribs and several of the stringcourses are of an excellent design. Many bases of shafts are remarkable for a peculiar kind of projection like a claw; in the Early English ones it takes the form of a knot of foliage. Some of the Norman capitals are richly sculptured, and the capitals, foliage, and mouldings of the Early English doors are of great beauty. The clerestory of the nave on the north side forms an elegant pointed arcade, the capitals of the shafts being ornamented with foliage. The south side is plainer. This is probably on account of the conventual buildings, which would prevent

that side of the church from being seen so closely as the other. On the west side of the south transept is a Norman piece of sculpture, representing the Crucifixion. Among the tombs, that in the south transept may be noticed as a fine specimen of monumental work of the Decorated period. Its canopy is an ogee crocketed arch with double foliation. The effigy is that of a female, and apparently of Early English date. The only specimen of painted glass is found in the apse of the north aisle; it represents our Saviour bearing the cross. It is richly coloured, and of early Decorated character.

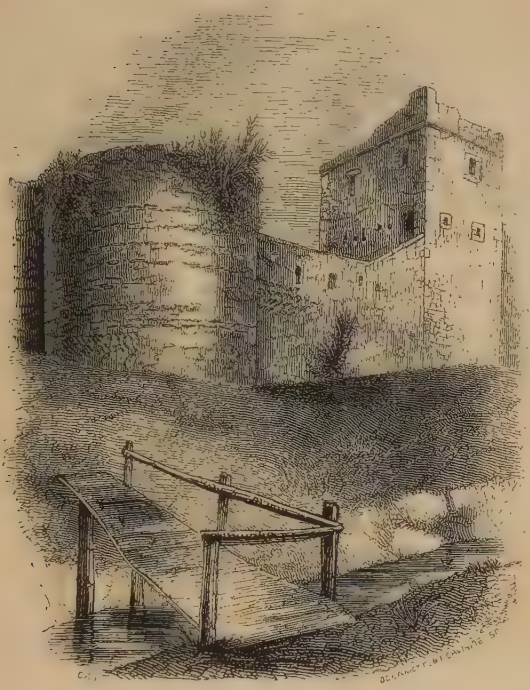
There is some ancient painting, to which we have already referred, in the eastern part of the church behind the choir; also the remains of some paintings in wood, not much earlier than the Reformation; they formed a screen behind the Altar.

Among the objects of interest we should notice the few encaustic tiles that have been preserved, and an ancient piece of embroidery, now used as an altar cloth. The Norman piscina, which has attracted much attention, is in a very mutilated state.

In my remarks on the character of the Norman work I ought to have observed that the intersecting arcade is not of frequent occurrence in this building. In fact I have seen few Norman buildings which exhibit less tendency to the pointed styles. And yet the predominance of the vertical line is strongly marked throughout. The clustered pier, the shaft separating the bays, and running up to the roof; the external pilasters nearly the whole height of the building, which in the choir and transept fronts form the imposts of blank arches, and the moulded ribs of the vaultings, shew that the still further development of those principles which formed the Gothic style was at hand. The Norman, as we meet with it in our country, is much nearer to the Gothic than it is to the Roman. It is essentially a transition style. The facility with which the pointed arch was grafted upon it is a proof of this. Such examples as Malmesbury, Kirkstall, Llanthony, and Buildwas, exhibit no want of harmony or consistency; the pointed arch appears to be more in its proper place than in many of the Italian churches of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. The instance before us is a remark-

able proof how readily the pure Norman, and the completely developed Gothic may be made to assimilate with each other. The transition is in fact gradual. In the early Norman transepts at Winchester the arches are plain, without moulding or chamfer. In the choir and transepts of Romsey, of a somewhat later date, the moulding of the architrave corresponds with the shafts below, by presenting a bold torus. In the nave, of a still later period, both the shafts of the impost and mouldings of the arch are multiplied; the pointed arch too begins to appear, as in the choir of St. Cross; after which comes a still further development in the early pointed with the square abacus. This softens almost imperceptibly into the Early English, and from that to the Decorated, as we see, in the eastern window of the church before us, is an easy step. The gradual progress from Decorated to Perpendicular is not to be looked for in this neighbourhood, where the latter seems to have been struck out as by a sudden impulse; but in York it is evident, where many characteristics of the Decorated nave are preserved in the Perpendicular choir. At what time the style had reached its perfection, and from what point it began to decline, will ever be a subject of dispute; but we shall have entered into the study with very narrow views, if we suffer our admiration of any one class or character of building to lead us to depreciate the beauties of another.

ON THE HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF PORCHESTER CASTLE.



PORCHESTER.

THERE cannot be the least reason for doubting that Porchester was one of the spots pitched upon by the Romans for a military post as soon as they had obtained a footing, or at least when they had determined upon completing the conquest of Great Britain. The precise period however when they constructed those defences which form in part the subject of the present investigation, can only be alluded to as one entirely conjectural, and whether this favourable position was originally occupied by any of the earliest legionaries under Julius Cæsar, or by their successors who were led by Plautius and Vespasian nearly a century afterwards, must be involved in equal uncer-

tainty. History has not furnished any recorded fact from which direct conclusions may be safely drawn, and therefore to assign a merely suppositious date for the age of those Roman remains that are still discernible, would be only contributing to increase, rather than to diminish, the imperfection of our knowledge. Certainly by looking at the actual position of Porchester, its convenient locality for infant colonisation, the numerous channels of water that surround it, its immediate proximity to a coast washed by the open ocean, its sheltered bay and readiness of access by a rising tide, it would seem not unreasonable to imagine that the Romans would speedily avail themselves of such natural advantages. And moreover if we be justified in deducing an inference from a short passage in Cæsar's Commentaries, they would, as an act of retributive indignation, if not as one of self-protection, hasten to seize the dominion of a district which had shewn itself so hostile to their ambition. For before Cæsar's invasion of Britain, the Belgæ, or inhabitants of this portion of it, lived in habits of commercial intercourse with their opposite continental neighbours the Transalpine Gauls, a people with whom they were closely allied both by a similarity of national customs, as well as by the firmer bond of speaking the same Celtic language, with whom it may be said they were sacredly united by a reciprocal regard for the same religious rites, and as descendants from a common stock, held together by the idiom of a cognate tongue; kindred in manners as in speech, in emergencies they mutually befriended each other, and therefore when the Veneti, or inhabitants of Brittany, in a time of dearth, possibly one also of oppressive exaction, suddenly threw off the hateful yoke of slavery, and revolted against the youthful Crassus, whom Cæsar had left with his seventh legion to retain the fallacious possession of a turbulent province he had recently appeased, the insurgents at once supplicated for the assistance of their opposite neighbours who then dwelt on these coasts[a]. We know not indeed with what cheerful alacrity their support was rendered, but of this circumstance we are informed in the annals already quoted, that the Veneti having gallantly set sail with their two hundred and twenty ships, this fleet being disabled in its rigging by scythes affixed to the Roman galleys, the contest depended no

[a] Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, lib. iii. 7. 13, 14; lib. iv. 23—28, &c.

longer on the nautical skill of the combatants, but rather on the personal valour of each, and the prowess of the disciplined legionaries ultimately prevailed. From a subsequent passage in the same historian, it is ascertained that his motive in attempting the conquest of Britain was chiefly prompted by the intelligence he had received of the Britons having furnished assistance to his enemies on the opposite coast, and the auxiliaries supplied by Hampshire and the adjacent maritime counties undoubtedly contributed to augment their number[b].

Meanwhile, the outbreak in Brittany having been quelled, Cæsar began to cherish the hope of chastising those who had helped the insurgents, and in the ensuing year, B. C. 55, he undertook his memorable invasion of this country. Professing to confine the present enquiries as closely as may be, to an illustration of the remains at Porchester, it would be irrelevant to the subject to enter into a discussion concerning the precise spot where he landed. After all is advanced that speculation is capable of bringing forward, this, like most other questions connected with such a remote period, must be supported in great measure by hypothetical reasoning and presumptive argument. How agreeable soever individual fancy may find it, to advance the claims of one locality in preference to another, to fix upon Deal, or Richborough, or Lympne, how gratefully we may acknowledge the ingenuity of those writers who create the solacing amusement of an idle hour, yet in pursuing all questions soever, and archæological ones are the very last that can form an exception, the enquirer should never fail to ask himself at every progressive step, what are the evidences he has a glimpse of, and what are the direct proofs he can exhibit that the naked truth lies openly disclosed to his view. Now with reference to Roman intercourse with this part of Britain, we possess the knowledge of two facts; the first that it was invaded, though not actually conquered, by Julius Cæsar, and the second, concerning which some persons may feel a little incredulous, that he disembarked his troops about five o'clock in the afternoon, on the 26th of August, exactly 1900 years ago. It is to the astronomical calculations of Dr. Halley that we are indebted for our acquaintance with this remarkable circumstance, who by reckoning back the

[b] Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. 20.

moons from the death of Augustus, when there was an eclipse, became enabled to ascertain the precise day when that full moon shone which Cæsar speaks of as influencing the tide the fourth day after his landing.

Ninety years afterwards (A.D. 36.) the Britons were threatened by Caligula, and about seven years later (A.D. 43.) the unprofitable expedition was resumed under Claudius. Whether those fortresses still existing on the southern coast were erected through the instrumentality of his officers Plautius and Vespasian, we can only be permitted to offer a conjecture. It is true that both these generals were employed for seven years in reducing the country southward of the Thames, and Ostorius Scapula, as we are informed, whilst he was occupied in extending the Roman power to the banks of the Severn, threw up a line of forts to overawe the natives of Wales. Therefore it may not be improbable that as the military works among the Segontiaci (or the inhabitants of this part of England) would be most essential for the absolute protection of the invaders, essential under the prospect of a contingent retreat, as well as necessary for stationary camps, and the nearest strongholds in direct communication with their naval force, there may be safely assigned to the constructions in the southern districts of England, a priority of erection over those more inland, such for example as Verulamium, Camolodunum, and Urioconium, in the counties of Hertford, Essex, and Salop. On the other hand, as regards the fact of anteriority among the former class, there do not appear any marks sufficiently prominent to warrant a decisive opinion, and therefore to repeat the assertion that Porchester was built by Cogidubrus, would only be echoing one of those visionary notions that have been so hurtful to the cause of dispassionate enquiry, and which have deservedly brought down so much ridicule on the students of archæology. In this state then of uncertainty, surely it will be more consistent with the principles of sound investigation to examine some of the works themselves still existing, since this method will be rewarded by the acquisition of facts instructive in themselves, and moreover be found to reveal, in a peculiar manner, the close analogy, the common features, and the prevailing marks of Roman architecture visible in other places. By a natural process of reasoning too, it would seem probable that the erections on the coast would necessarily precede, in a progressive

and proportionate ratio, according to the advancement of the invaders, such as were in the interior of the island.

It has not often been attempted, nor indeed has it been found easily practicable, to dig to the foundations of the various structures that will be referred to, yet under all circumstances, the insight obtained by this species of enquiry must be highly valuable, and the utility of pursuing the same order in our researches as was adopted by the builders in their own labours, by commencing with the substruction, and the operations beneath the surface, whenever the task can be accomplished, cannot be too strongly enforced. The application of the spade and the measuring tape will contribute to raise the seeds of knowledge out of a dark and apparently unintelligible subject, and where the surface is forbidding and disfigured by mouldering and defaced walls, these two common implements, if industriously used, will restore to the creations of dishonoured genius the lines of harmony and beauty, and dispose a mass of shapeless ruins into system and order.

A question so important as the best method of consolidating foundations did not escape the careful attention of Vitruvius Pollio. We accordingly find several minute and valuable rules laid down upon this subject in his work upon architecture. From this highly celebrated treatise it may be gathered that the Roman masons proceeded by a series of regular and fixed laws, and a rigid adherence to them may be discovered in nearly every erection that has escaped the ravages of time.

Commencing with remarks on the materials suitable for building purposes, Vitruvius explains seriatim the principles by which the judgment of architects should be guided in their selection: omitting now, however, these as too varied and general, as well as the subjects of situation, the kinds of stone and the different sorts of timber he deems most fitting for such purposes, the notice shall be confined to those materials, and to that mode of construction employed in the buildings still existing on the southern coasts of England.

It will be desirable to consider, in the first place, the character of the foundations, and the works lying beneath the surface[c]. The former, he tells us, should, if at all

[c] Vitruv. Poll. de Architect., lib. i. c. 5.

practicable, be dug out till the solid ground or rock, as we should say, is reached and entered, and then the trench filled in as compactly as possible.

He enforces also the necessity of making the exterior foundations project further than the interior, from the fact of this advancement of the substruction tending to afford additional strength to the walls against internal thrusts, such as would arise from their being shouldered or pressed by an artificial mound or superincumbent weight of earth cast up from the fosses. This internal accumulation of earth may be observed at Silchester, Richborough, St. Alban's, and Pevensey, where the enclosed area is on a considerably higher level than the soil without: at Silchester and Pevensey even as much as eight or ten feet. An exemplification of adhesion to the Vitruvian precept, of making the foundations wider than the walls they are destined to carry, might have been seen in those remains of Roman construction that were examined, when the excavations were made for the French Protestant chapel in Aldersgate Street, London, in 1841, where there appeared a variation of no less than three feet six inches. There is a similar difference of breadth betwixt the upper and the lower parts of the remains at Silchester. In sections that may be made of other foundations hereafter, it will be very desirable to ascertain how far these analogies are maintained.

As regards the distance that should intervene between mural towers, it will be sufficient to remark that the direction for building them no further asunder than the flight of an arrow, has been followed at Pevensey, Lympne, Burgh, and Porchester. At the three first of these stations they possess that circularity of form united with that entire solidity which is recommended by our author as capable of affording better resistance to the shocks of a battering ram. The power of this warlike engine in attacking round towers would be harmless, merely driving the stones, which should be cut wedgelike, towards their common centre, but when employed against quadrangular masses, and driven against the corners, the towers would speedily crumble under the agency of its blows. Yet it must be remarked in the meanwhile, that the mural towers in the curtain walls of Porchester, are not internally filled up and consolidated like the three others just mentioned, neither also are the bastions in the Roman por-

tion of the town walls at Bourges, a fact that will deserve to be reverted to hereafter.

In immediate connection with this part of the subject, there is another feature requiring consideration. I mean the modes adopted by the Romans to overcome or counterbalance those natural difficulties, whether arising from latent springs, or marshy and unsound ground, that occasionally interfered with a site that was in every other respect convenient and propitious for a permanent fortification. Under such emergencies, Vitruvius advises that charred piles of willow, or olive, or oak should be driven in as closely together as possible, that the water should be pumped out, the soil excavated, and the space filled up with charcoal; and then upon this the foundations should be laid[d]. Modern discoveries have added nothing to this ancient method of constructing coffer dams. When the Romans built their fortress at Pevensey, they found the elevation they had selected saturated by numerous springs, and supposing them to prevail in greater abundance than they really do, they followed the precaution here given; a precaution very desirable indeed for them to take in some parts of this locality, but, as the event shews, injurious to the stability of the erections in others, for the water, not generally running through or percolating all the soil alike, the piles being dry soon became rotten, and the walls in several parts have been shaken and overthrown, in consequence of wanting that support and basis the piles themselves were intended to supply. This is strikingly observable entirely round the eastern side of the works, where in several places an intervening space of as much as twenty and thirty feet exists before the back part of the sub-structure can be reached.

Pevensey

The vacancy thus created betwixt the lowest course, with the mortar adhering to its under surface, and the earth, presents to the eye the appearance of a broad black line traversing the feet of the walls. The insecure position in which, from these causes, they have been placed, has been partially reme-

[d] Vitruv. Poll., de Architect., lib. i. c. 5; lib. iv. c. 4; lib. v. c. 3. 13.

died by a few modern buttresses, but the injury the foundations have sustained by this undermining is of too serious a nature to be relieved without resorting to a more extensive plan of reparation. At Burgh, as we are informed by Ives, who had good opportunities for making the observation, the foundation was a deep bed of chalk and lime firmly compacted and strongly beat down, and the whole covered with a layer of earth and sand to harden the mass and exclude the water; this was covered with oaken planks nearly two inches in thickness, some of which were perceptible to his day: then succeeded a bed of very coarse mortar, on which, in an irregular manner, were spread the first stones of the fabric. What the Romans intended by this method, builders now accomplish by laying a false foundation of concrete.

Some portion of the walls at York were also built upon piles, and the same system of construction is apparent there, with merely a difference in the number of tile bondings.

On examining the foundations at Pevensey, it appears that, first, the piles were driven in, and upon these was laid a stratum of strong coarse mortar, or conglomerete, mixed with flints and gravel, varying from four to nine inches in thickness: upon this rested three footing courses of stone, the two lowest chamfered on the upper edge, and receding as they rose, and then began the regular vertical wall. There is such an extraordinary resemblance between the facing of Roman work as it has been observed in England and several places on the continent, which will be incidentally mentioned, that the subject deserves minute description.

Pevensey will supply as good an example as any of them to explain the general character of Roman walling as it exists in England. It may be described as consisting of a certain number of courses of hewn stone or ashlaring, separated at intervals by double bonding courses of Roman tile, the interior part of the wall (*fartura*) being filled up with rubble. In the present instance the ashlaring is composed of three sizes of sandstone from Beechy Head, namely, 18 in. and 20 in. by 10 in., 12 in. by 10 in., and 6 in. by 4 in., which is the commonest size employed. Making the observation where the average was best exhibited, ten of these courses breaking joint are imposed above the footing already mentioned, then comes a double bonding course of tile, then twelve more courses of ashlaring, then two of tile, then thirty of ashlaring, bringing

us to the summit. In some places a bonding course of dark red stone, being the lowest stratum of the Beechy Head measure, is used as the equivalent of tile, a substitution that will deserve noticing hereafter, in explanation of the masonry of Porchester and Silchester. But in all the variations that may be perceptible in the number of courses of ashlar work, and they exist frequently in the same building, the number being seldom constant, the law of alternation between these, and the tile bondings or their correspondents, will be perpetually manifested.

We will select another illustration, taken from the ruins of Richborough. Here a similar appearance meets the eye, simply with this variation, that the materials used in the facing, instead of being white sand-stone from Beechy Head, are the quarried flints mixed with the cement stone, found in the neighbourhood. A trifling difference there may be in the foundations, but the facing of the walls is the same, the alternation after a certain number of courses, betwixt the ashlaring and the tile bondings, is the same, whilst the size of the facing stones themselves is identical. Thus at Richborough, commencing at the ground, there are on the north side, where the masonry is displayed in its most perfect state, first of all, four courses of flint in their natural form, then three courses dressed; to these succeed two courses of bonding tile, and then they rise above each other in the following order; seven courses of ashlar and two of tile; seven courses of ashlar and two of tile; seven courses of ashlar and two of tile; again, seven courses of ashlar and two of tile; eight courses of ashlar and two of tile; nine courses of ashlar. The extreme height of this wall is 23 ft. 2 in., and its thickness 10 ft. 8 in. These are the general characteristics; but there are besides a few peculiarities worth mentioning, for instance, over the apertures in the walls, (whether they were intended for putlog-holes or for any other purpose can only be surmised,) there are holes with headings of tile, as there are indeed at Wroxeter, and in the Mint wall at Lincoln, Verulam, and the town walls at Bourges. These holes are dispersed, without any apparent object, in a straight line throughout the face of the wall at Wroxeter; where they fall amongst the courses of bonding tile their heading is of the same kind, but in the other parts of sand-stone. These bondings of Roman tile were used with the same intention as the long and short perpent-stones in

our earlier English churches, and very probably gave the idea to the ecclesiastical builders, who, however, used them vertically instead of horizontally. In both periods their application was to compensate the want of proper building materials.

The remains at Wroxeter are very trifling, not exceeding 72 ft. in length, though the vallum encircling the ancient city, as it may be traced throughout, indicates the original size of Urioconium to have been very considerable. The Old Wall, as this Roman remain has been usually designated, is about 20 ft. high and 3 ft. 2 in. thick. Its facing is of the hewn red sand-stone of the district, a fact that in itself may tend to explain why so much of this building has perished. Here, too, there exists a resemblance, to what may be perceived at Lympne. Besides the large square apertures in the wall, there are round ones smaller, 3 inches in diameter. At both places these holes run clean through the wall, and are plastered throughout. They have also been observed at Caernarvon, Richborough, and in the wall of Severus. It would seem therefore that they had a more permanent object than merely to hold up scaffolding. As regards the nature of the facing, precisely the same system is preserved, namely, a certain number of ashlar courses alternating with tile bondings.

From the North Welsh Borders we turn to the Iceni on the coast of Suffolk, to examine what are the prevalent marks of Roman construction at Burgh. With a slight variation the same kind of masonry meets our view. The walls are built like Richborough with quarried flints, divided at certain intervals by tile bonding courses. Yet here there is a curious difference. The tile bondings have hitherto been seen laid in double courses, in the present instance they are triple. Could this deviation arise from caprice or necessity? Whatever occasioned it, such a departure from the usual plan is a rare example in England; and on the continent it is perhaps confined to the remains at Soissons. The horse-shoe form of the towers is another feature of singularity. If we had any reason for assigning the works at Richborough, Lympne, Burgh, Pevensey, and Porchester to the same architect, we might conclude that the difference observable in the form of these flanking towers, originated in his desire to vary the plan in such points as would not interfere with the material strength of the fortress, in fact with the same feeling

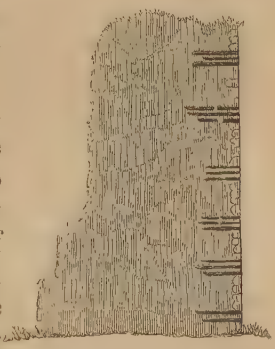
as John de Elreton designed his polygonal towers in the Edwardian castle of Caernarvon, where the regular observance of multangular irregularity shews, paradoxical as it may sound, this great architect's close obedience to the system of fortification he had laid down, a system indeed so harmoniously carried out in the noble castles of Harlech, Caernarvon, Beaumaris, and Conway, that these buildings may not unfavourably be compared with the best military specimens of ancient times.

Returning to the subject of mural towers, four kinds are observable in the places we have already spoken of, all of them differing from each other, as a glance at their plan will shew.

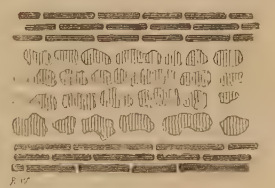
At Burgh, they are built completely separate from the wall as high as the fourth bonding course inclusive from the ground, and the tile courses and flint facing of the wall run uninterruptedly behind them. Above this fourth course they are built into the wall, but have settled so as to drag forward a part of this wall, in every case with a double fracture. Whether the wall was taken down behind them as low as the fourth course in order to unite them the better with it, or whether the wall was raised above it at the same time that the whole tower was built, is a fact perhaps impossible to be ascertained.

At Richborough the towers are solid, the centres lying in the angle made by the curtain walls.

The works at Lympne are much destroyed, yet enough remains to enable their original plan, which appears to have been quadrangular, to be clearly traced. The walls, the facing of which is almost entirely stripped off, are 9 ft. 6 in. in thickness. At the north-eastern angle is a circular tower 53 ft. in circumference, perfectly solid, and standing, as it seems always to have done, detached at the base from the curtain wall. Very little of it remains, and perhaps it might have been united in the upper part with the contiguous wall; at all events both this, and the towers

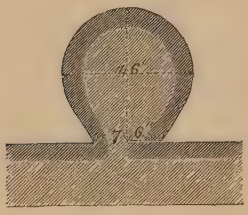


Burgh Castle.

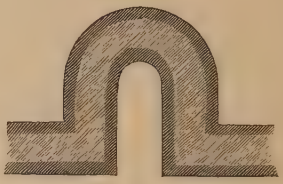


Burgh Castle

of Burgh exhibit most unusual features of construction. Fortunately a few courses of ashlar work have escaped destruction, and they serve to add to the evidences already given, that the marks of Roman masonry are invariably the same wherever they may be observed, so that when once they have been carefully examined they cannot ever afterwards be mistaken, nor be confounded with buildings of a later age. In the tower at the north-eastern angle there still remain twelve courses of ashlaring betwixt the tile bondings, the stones measuring generally six inches by ten on the face. The tile bonding of the curtain wall exhibits an appearance which requires mentioning, and although it is adopted in other places, yet since it may be seen exhibited here in the

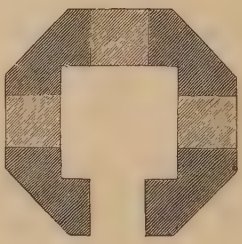


Plan of Tower, Burgh



Porchester.

Richborough.



Pharos.

Lympne

most perfect state, this consequently will be a suitable opportunity to speak of it. The tiles in the lowest course have recurved edges, a deviation from the general method that must have been resorted to under the supposition that it would tie the bonds more effectually into the work. Both here and at Wroxeter their use is confined to the course nearest the ground. At Richborough these tiles are in the upper row, and the points are inverted, whilst the reverse method of laying them is adopted at Lympne. The use of such tiles however is not

confined to these three places, as they have been observed at Burgh, Lillebonne, Stufall, Luynes, Soissons, and Autun.

The Roman remains at Dover are confined to the Pharos[e]. This building is quadrangular within, and octagonal without. Having been enabled to examine its foundations, they were found to be laid upon yellow clay interspersed with flints; upon this rested a stratum of coarse mortar or conglomerate, a foot and a half thick; then came a single course of tile, then blocks of calcareous tufa for a space of seven feet four inches; another single course of tile; then three courses of quarried tufa (1 ft. 10 in.); then two courses of tile, and so on with the same kind of alternation already described. The difficulty of obtaining proper materials in this locality caused the Romans to transport these blocks of travertine from the opposite coast of Normandy, where they used them in great profusion, as the facing for

Lillebonne.

[e] This name was first applied to it in England by Stukeley, and implies, not I think without reason, that it was intended for a light-house; as Statius says,

Lumina noctivagæ tollit Pharos æmula lunæ.

For when seen afar off it would appear as a star; in the same way metaphorically the French poet Ronsard addressed Charles the Ninth,

Soyez mon Phare, et gardez d'abymer
Ma nef qui nage en si profonde mer.

The construction of these buildings was generally on the same plan. Herodian, speaking of the catafalques which adorned the funerals of the Roman emperors, says, that they rose in stages from a square base, growing gradually less each story, in the same way as the Pharos did. This system undoubtedly originated the methods of building in those early churches in England, commonly called Anglo-Saxon, their receding stories answering to these, and which are called by William of Malmesbury *lapidei tabulatus*. It is on record that there formerly existed an octagonal Pharos at Boulogne. It was doubtlessly the tower spoken of by Suetonius in his life of Caligula, when he describes this emperor's folly in making a sham fight on the shore, causing his soldiers to fill their helmets and bosoms with the sea sand, and declaring they were spoils due from the ocean to the capitol, and he afterwards erected a lofty octagonal tower of twelve stages in commemoration of his victory. When the English captured Boulogne in 1545, they built around it a little citadel, both however fell by an incursion of the sea in 1644. The great tower at Nismes differs from these by having six angles. A building supposed to have been of the same kind as these, on the Garreg, in Flintshire, does not appear to have belonged to the same age.

the theatre at Lillebonne. Partly owing to the weakness and friability of the material, and partly to wanton spoliation, the facing of the Pharos is completely destroyed, it is therefore extremely difficult to make out the exact number of courses intervening betwixt the bondings, and in fact it can only be done by looking at the joints; as however the system of Roman masonry is precisely the same in every instance, the defect in this example is of less importance. One of the original entrances into this building is still existing. We cannot but be struck with the close resemblance it presents to the arches of an aqueduct near Luynes, and to arches in the bastion at Le Mans, and at Bourges[f]. In the Pharos doorway it will be observed the voussoirs are alternately pieces of travertine and double tiles. There have doubtlessly been more extensive erections of the same age as the Pharos, since the adjacent Norman church shews that it was in great measure constructed out of their ruins.

Lillebonne.

Doorway, Pharos.

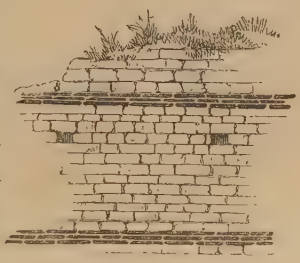
There is yet another kind of Roman tower to be described, such as is found at Pevensey and Porchester. These differ from the others by springing from the curtain walls at right angles,—at Pevensey they are, like the greater number, filled up by earth; at Porchester, like those at Bourges, they are hollow. One of the eastern towers at Pevensey displays a considerable quantity of herring-bone work in its facing, in itself a feature that is no indication whatever of age, but

[f] An arch-way at Pompeii is constructed in alternate layers of brick and lava, and covered with fine white stucco.

which in this instance is analogous to the Roman remains of St. Jean near Avranches.

The Mint wall at Lincoln, another specimen of isodomic construction[g], is seventy feet long and thirty high, and appears to have been the north side of some quadrangular building. It is formed of stone and triple courses of tile bonding, which go through the wall, there being five feet of ashlaring betwixt the triple bondings. The stones, about nine inches thick, are hammer-dressed: the joints, as usual, are wide, and the mortar hard. There are holes plastered like those at Wroxeter. The foundation is much decayed, though built on a rock. The Mint wall at Lincoln is constructed with triple rows of bricks (excepting the course nearest the ground) and with stone from the Lincoln quarries, one of the best and most durable beds being chosen. The ashlars are small, $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 inches thick, and seldom a foot long. There exists no determinate number of courses of stone betwixt the tile bondings. The core is filled with rubble mixed with large quantities of brick, which in some parts quite fills up the interior. The mortar mixed with coarse sand and pounded brick is admirably firm and hard.

Mint Wall.



Mint Wall

The Roman remains at Colchester may be justly considered the most important as well as extensive in England, whether we regard their size or their preservation. To omit all

[g] Græci è lapide duro aut silice æquato construunt veluti lateritios parietes. Quum ita fecerint, *ἰσόδομον* vocant genus structura: at quum inæquali crassitudine structa sunt, *ψευδισόδομον*.— Plin.lib.xxxvi. c. 22.

Isodomum dicitur, cum omnia choria æqua crassitudine fuerint structa; pseudisodomum, cum impares et inequales ordines choriorum diriguntur. . . . . Preterea interponunt singulos perpetua crassitudine utraque parte frontatos, quos *διατόνους* appellunt, qui maxime religando confirmant parietum soliditatem.—Vitruv., lib. ii. c. 8.

mention of the numerous objects of antiquity which are daily

Chamber near Balkerne Lane, Colchester.

being brought to light, the town walls alone are a striking monument of the Roman sway in Great Britain. Their circuit, which is still traceable throughout, in some parts in a state of entire perfection, especially in Balkerne Lane, was measured in 1746, and found to enclose an area of a hundred and eight acres. When the geological difficulties the masons had to contend with are considered, there being no building stone in this part of England, a sufficient reason why its ecclesiastical structures are inferior, the walls of Colchester are an extraordinary proof of Roman skill and perseverance. The materials employed in their construction are hammer-dressed cement stone from Harwich, and quadruple rows of brick. The mortar is as usual binding and compact, but wants the admixture of pounded brick so commonly observed elsewhere. In the 6th, 12th, and 17th of Rich. II., the burgesses of Colchester were exempt from the charge of returning representa-

tives on account of the expenses to which they were put in repairing these walls, a fact that will tend greatly to explain their present comparative preservation.

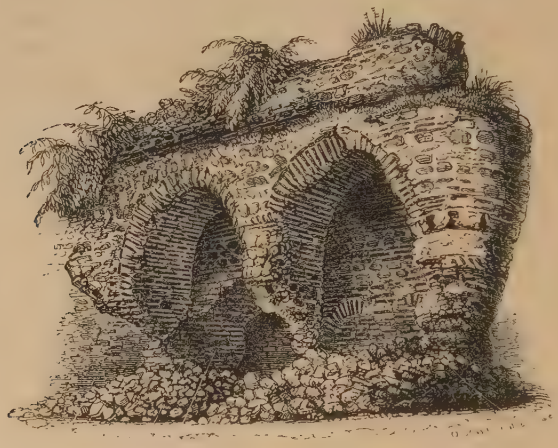
The remains at St. Alban's are still very considerable, though in no part does the old facing remain. The destruction of much of this large fortress is on record, having been commenced by Abbot Ælfric and continued until the time of Paul, (1077—1115,) the abbot who used the Roman tile to construct the noble abbey still existing. The walls, the entire of the massive tower, in fact the whole of this church was built out of the ruins of Verulamium; even the newels of the staircases are

Section of Wall, Colchester.

Wall, St. Alban's

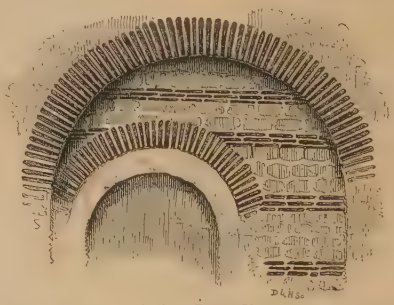
constructed with Roman tile. It was not until a later time,

when the foundation became enriched through the offerings at St. Alban's shrine, and the Totternhoe stone was discovered, that the elegant additions of the early Decorated style were substituted for the plain Norman work. The same motives induced the builders of the castle and St. Botolph's priory at Colchester, and the builders of the churches at Dover Castle and Brixworth, to employ Roman bricks: they were on the spot at all these places, and were found more serviceable than the mere rubble or flint which were the only other materials



Jewry Wal', Leicester.

they could obtain. The foundations of Verulamium as examined at Gorhambury Block, where the wall is in its most perfect state, were found to consist first of all of courses of flints resting on a bed of clay mixed with the same; above these courses were tile bondings going entirely through the wall, then flint rubble, and courses of tile.

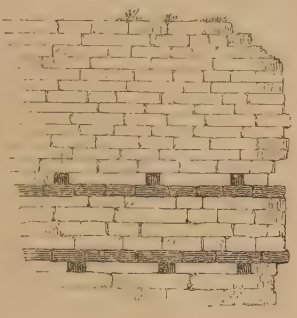


Arches, Jewry Wall.

The Jewry wall, Leicester, is a portion of Roman work about 72 feet in length, and judging from a cottage attached to it which has a story above its ground floor, it cannot be less than 20 ft. in height. It runs nearly north and south, facing the west end of the old Norman

church of St. Nicholas, from which it is distant only a few yards. The ancient wall contains four large round-headed arches, not exactly equal in span, but nearly of the same height. There have been sub-arches of smaller dimensions, and the masonry between the superior and inferior arch in one of these compartments, (the third, reckoning from the north,) is the only part from which, without much difficulty, the construction of the wall can be ascertained. The stones are irregular in form, but cut to an even face, and disposed regularly in courses, with very wide joints, and resting on triple bonding courses of tile.

The remains at Caerwent, in Monmouthshire, shew the original plan of this fortress to have been like that of Caerleon, nearly quadrangular. The construction of the wall is closely analogous to other specimens of Roman masonry in Great Britain. The walls themselves are formed almost exclusively of the common carboniferous limestone, and are also faced with it, though there are some stones of magnesian limestone from Sudbrook. The interior of the wall has the stones sloped in rows, but not alternated so regularly as in herring-bone work, being disposed more in compartments. This is the case at Caernarvon, as visible in that portion of the wall close to Cefyn Hêndre. The outside facings are in regular courses, hammer-dressed. That portion of the wall best preserved is about twenty-five feet high, and has single and triple bonding courses of the old red sand-stone, probably from the quarries in the vale of the Vedw, north of Tintern Abbey. They are usually three or four inches thick, with intervening joints of one and a half. In appearance the red sand-stone bondings would resemble brick, and answer to the chromatic divisions represented by different materials, and used with this intention at Silchester. The appearance of pounded brick in the mortar seems here rather the exception than the general rule. The three projecting bastions are later additions, the original masonry being perfect behind them.



Caerwent Wall.

The walls of Caerleon, like those of Caernarvon, have been stripped of their facing. Both of these erections are similar

to those already mentioned, namely, in exhibiting the features of isodomic construction so universally met with in England. The mortar at Caerleon has much pounded brick in it and broken tiles, as well as tile bondings at certain intervals between the ashlar work. The facings of regular masonry may yet be seen in a few of the remaining towers.

The last fortification to be examined is that of Silchester (*Silvæ castrum*). After leaving the buildings erected by the Romans on the coast, this is the first we meet with in the interior of the country. It stands in its impressive loneliness on elevated ground, begirt now as of old with woods, and without the common advantages of being near a stream. The shape of it is an irregular octagon, and it encloses a level area

Remains, Silchester.

as large as a hundred acres. The enceinte or boundary wall on the south side, where it is most perfect, is about eighteen feet high, two of which at the base are now covered by rubbish, in fact the whole is much overgrown and hidden, and in the remaining sixteen are five bonding courses, including one close to the ground. No tiles are used in the bonding courses, a circumstance worth notice, more especially in comparing it with Porchester, (the same deficiency will be observed in the gateway at Rheims, as well as in the chapel of St. Andre and the town walls of Autun,) but in lieu of them are double courses, chiefly of limestone, also like the bondings at Porchester, and of the same geological character. The inter-

vening space, which in other examples has been seen to be quarried flints, or Beechy Head stone, or the old red sand-stone, or travertine, is here represented by rudely hammer-dressed carstone (said to be dug about six miles to the south-west) and flints, disposed so as to run in regular courses as perfectly as their form would allow them, always with the intention of breaking joint, though not vertically, as some of the stones incline downwards from left to right, and though the courses are continuous, yet instead of running unbroken in a horizontal line, they occasionally follow the dip of the ground, rising or falling according to the undulating nature of its surface.

It has been remarked before that the internal level was higher than the exterior, and now it may be further stated, that here the upper part of the outward face of the wall overhangs the lower in many places by three feet. In one or more parts, too, the inside wall presents marks of having been faced with stone bonds twice as broad as the courses outside. The resemblance of this extensive Roman work to Porchester, both in its materials and its cements, is very remarkable.

The next question to be investigated in Roman construction is the quality, the size, and the application of bricks, or, as they are usually called, tiles. The quality is well known to be excellent, whilst they possess an inherent compactness and hardness that causes them to surpass nearly all bricks that have since been manufactured, a reason at once explaining their duration to the present day. Vitruvius has accounted for this excellence, by stating the methods that were adopted in their manufacture. Besides paying attention to the choice of the clay, which should not, he tells us, be sandy, or gravelly, or pebbly, lest the tiles become heavy, and when exposed to the rain they moulder away and are speedily decomposed, and the straw also with which they are mixed will not sufficiently bind the earth together, because of its rough quality, but they should be made of earth of a white, chalky, red, or even strong marl, since these materials have firmness on account of their lightness, and they are not heavy in working, and are readily put together. The proper seasons for making brick are the Spring and Autumn, because then they dry more equally. Those made in the Summer are defective, because the heat of the sun soon imparts to their external surface an appearance of sufficient dryness, whilst the interior is in a different condition;

hence when thoroughly dry they shrink and break those parts that dried first, and thus their strength is gone. Those bricks, he goes on to say, will be best which have been made from clay dug two years before-hand, for in a less time than that, they will not thoroughly dry. And therefore it is not without reason that the inhabitants of Utica suffer no bricks to be used in their buildings unless they have been tempered five years previously, and also approved by a magistrate[h].

Here then the durability and compactness of Roman tile is at once explained, and the principles of its manufacture are eminently worth the consideration of all builders, and especially of contractors of the present day.

The sizes vary from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$in. in thickness, and from 11in. to 1ft. 7in. in length, the width also varying from 6 to 12in.; the dimensions being so extremely uncertain, that no standard can be assigned to them. Their application has been confined to ties, bonding-courses, and to the voussoirs of arches.

We now come to the final and important consideration of cements; and as regards these, we shall still find Vitruvius offering valuable assistance to prosecute an enquiry into their qualities and relative merits. In buildings where mortar is used, he says[i], the first thing to be enquired into is the nature of the sand, so that it should be suitable for the purpose, and not adulterated by a mixture of earth. Of the three kinds of sand, dug sand, river sand, and sea sand, the first is the best: and of the four sorts of dug sand, black, white, red, and ashy, that has the advantage which is gritty, for if it is earthy it will have no roughness; that which when thrown upon a garment or shaken off and broken shall leave no stain, will be found well adapted for the purpose. If the cement be made of dug sand, he adds[k], the relative proportions should be, three parts of sand and one of lime; if of river or sea sand, two parts of sand and one of lime, and if to this there shall be thrown in for the third part, broken and sifted tiles, it will greatly ameliorate the quality of the cement. This mortar made with pounded bricks, is a genuine evidence that the building where it is used is Roman, though its absence does not prove the converse, inasmuch as it is deficient at Lympne, Colchester, Porchester, and Silchester. At all the other places that have been mentioned it is employed in great abundance, besides which it was generally used in the Roman villas at

[h] Vitruv. Poll., de Architect., lib. ii. c. 3. [i] Ib., lib. ii. c. 4. [k] Ib., lib. ii. c. 5.

Comberton, Hartlip, and Bignor; and even the sepulchral buildings at Rougham, that were opened so skilfully last year and the preceding one by Professor Henslow, were erected with this durable cement. This pounded brick mortar is in fact so hard, that blocks of it are worked up in the newels of the staircases at St. Alban's abbey, instead of the Roman tile.

In the same way Vitruvius explains the principles on which mosaic pavements should be laid down[1], and in nearly every specimen I have hitherto observed, both English and foreign, his rules are as closely followed in these decorations as in the more substantial works already described.

Such are the directions given by Vitruvius, directions which he has also enforced by reasoning. Before however entering into an examination of their propriety, or speaking with reference to exhibited specimens, it will be desirable to ask a simple question, namely, what is the object sought to be obtained by mixing sand or any other substance with quick lime, because of course according to the efficiency of the means that may be adopted, the quality of the composition will be improved. The intention of this admixture of substances is to form a series of centres around which the slaked lime may unite and harden. In proportion therefore as the component particles are aggregated, and induration hastened, the latent cohesiveness and binding qualities of the cement will be brought into action, and thus the whole mass will become more perfectly carbonated. For as in the selection of building stones, so is it with the mortar that is most suitable for use; the nearer approach that can be made to equivalent proportions of carbonate of lime and carbonate of magnesia, the better will both be able to resist the decomposing effects of the atmosphere and to withstand disintegration.

This supplies us at once with an explanation of the greater relative compactness of some cements than others in the same building: for instance, as the coarse mortar, internal rubble work, grouting and conglomerate, exhibit a larger quantity of compact, solid masses in their body, than what exists in fine mortar, such as that used for facing or pointing, the former is considerably the firmer and more durable.

Vitruvius, we may be sure, was not ignorant of this, and accordingly in a chapter upon mosaic pavements he has given

[1] Lib. vii. c. 1.

rules for the manufacture of each kind. Practical experience enabled the ancients to arrive at those conclusions which he has laid down, and if we apply the test of modern science to them we shall find them not defective, but as good as any methods that have been more recently adopted. The strength and permanence, in fact, of these mortars is well known, and it is worth while to investigate the nature of their composition, since the elimination of this question will singularly tend to illustrate the rules given by Vitruvius, and moreover furnish results of practical utility.

By a careful analysis of some of these mortars, selected as being likely to exhibit the greatest comparative dissimilarity amongst themselves, it has been ascertained that in 500 grains of mortar from the Pharos, there were 145 of lime, 112½ carbonic acid, 242½ sand and small gravel.

In 500 grains of Wroxeter mortar there were, 140 parts lime, 110 carbonic acid, 250 sand and small gravel.

In 500 grains of Lympne mortar, 357 parts gravel, 67 sand, 16 sulphate of lime or gypsum, 60 carbonate of lime.

In 500 grains of mortar from Silchester, 231 parts carbonate of lime, 96 sand or plaster of Paris, 173 stones.

In 500 grains of mortar from Verulam, 85 parts lime, 415 sand and gravel.

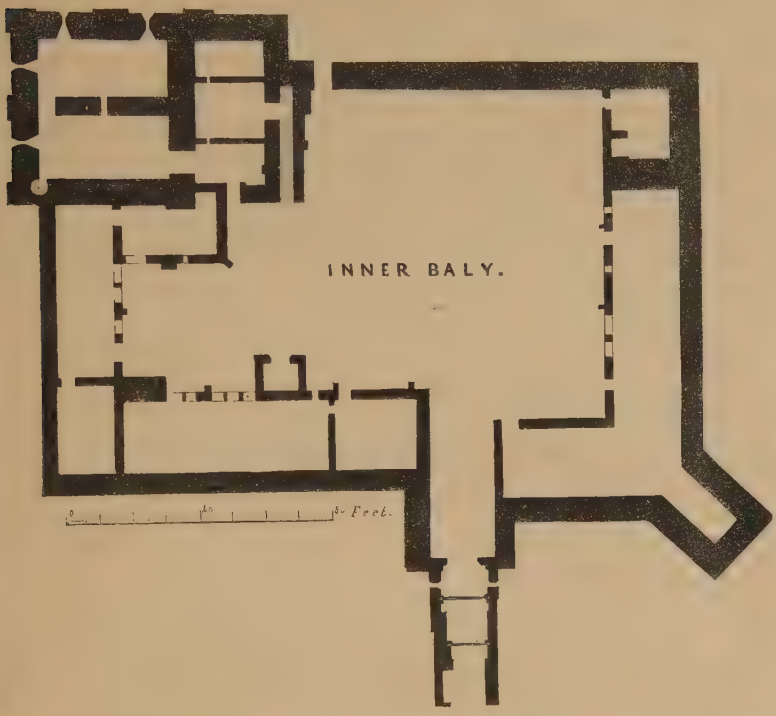
In 500 grains of Norman mortar from the abbey of St. Alban's, 182 parts lime, 318 of sand and small gravel. This contained a comparatively large proportion of oxyde of iron, and some organic matter, which may account for its loose and crumbling character.

In 500 grains of mortar from Porchester, 351 parts carbonate of lime, 88 flint stones, 61 fine sand.

In 500 grains of statumen from Colchester, 410 grains of carbonate of lime, and 90 of sand, &c.

It has been deemed expedient to bring forward thus minutely the results of a personal examination of those Roman buildings in England whose authenticity is unquestionable, so that a correct judgment may be formed of the claims of Porchester castle to a Roman origin. For it must be admitted those claims do not carry conviction at the first glance at the building itself. Many enquirers have consequently regarded them with doubt, and therefore to help towards a full elucidation of the subject, such comparisons are very essential, whilst the reader will have placed within his own power the

means of pursuing it further, and clearing up a difficult question to his own satisfaction. To apply fully the preceding remarks to the present appearance of Porchester, it will be, however, desirable to adduce a few other facts.



Plan of north west angle of Porchester

The general plan of Porchester is quadrangular, with Norman and later additions built at the north-west angle, and this configuration, coupled with its size, and the etymology of its name, are in themselves strong presumptive indications of its Roman origin. Fragments of Roman inscriptions are built into the wall, to the right of the entrance into the inner baly. The walls are defended on the north and western sides by a single vallum, a practice very consistent with their laws of strategy, the eastern and southern sides being protected by the water. Under the feet of the walls too, on the northern and western sides, there is a fosse which serves to give additional strength to the interior fortification, as well as safety to those whom the walled enclosure would not admit.

When a few years ago investigating the military remains on the Welsh borders, I found these characteristics of Roman castrametation exemplified in numerous instances; they are principles indeed described by Vegetius and Josephus, and, coupling the existing appearances with those of Silchester, I have no hesitation in believing all the outer works of Porchester to be of this early period.

The shape of the enclosed area is also conformable to their usual system, which was to make it rectangular, the formation of irregular shaped camps being influenced by the nature of the position, whilst the circular ones are to be assigned as the construction of a lower period of the empire. The enclosed area of Porchester (containing a beautiful Norman cruciform church within it) constitutes nearly a perfect square, being a little more than 600 feet on all sides, comprising in short rather more than nine acres. There are entrances on the eastern and western sides, and it is highly probable that others existed to the north and south. It has been the custom to call these Decuman and Prætorian gates, but there has been no union of opinion between Roy and King, as to which is one and which is the other, and even the description given by Vegetius, which both of them have overlooked, must leave the question still unsettled, since Vegetius states that the Prætorian gate looks to the east, or that place which belongs to the enemy, or that part to which the army was about to march, between which the first centuriæ are drawn up and the standards and ensigns are fixed. The title therefore would vary according to the circumstances of the attack.

The mural towers are different from the usual method, by being built hollow instead of solid; this feature has however been already alluded to as not uncommon in Roman construction, so that this circumstance taken by itself does not interfere with the Roman pretensions of Porchester.

There is another point where it must be confessed a more important deficiency is observable, namely, in the general absence of that isodomic construction which has been shewn as the prevalent custom throughout other Roman buildings existing in England. The ashlar work is very unequally distributed, and the courses of stone or flint want that great regularity existing in the previous examples that have been noticed. There is a total absence of the red mortar so peculiar to Roman buildings, and there is a deficiency apparent when the

eye seeks for the customary tile or bonding courses, the application of these being exclusively confined to limited portions on the northern and southern sides; it is doubtful whether those visible on the northern side are Roman tile; and, in fact, even scarcely in an equal number are their equivalents to be met with in that or any other quarter of the building. Still there is a very close resemblance to what is seen in the larger work of Silchester, whose age is indisputable; the stone and the cements are the same: as similar anomalies may be seen at Bourges, and as the other evidences of etymology, configuration, and certain general points of resemblance in minuter particulars may be detected, the Roman claims of Porchester cannot readily be overthrown. The stone used as bonding courses both at Silchester and at Porchester is identical, a coarse limestone, of the same geological character as that from the thin upper beds covering the Purbeck stone. Some of the stone however used at Silchester, namely, a kind of ferruginous sand-stone, is dug about six miles to the south-west.

Silchester.

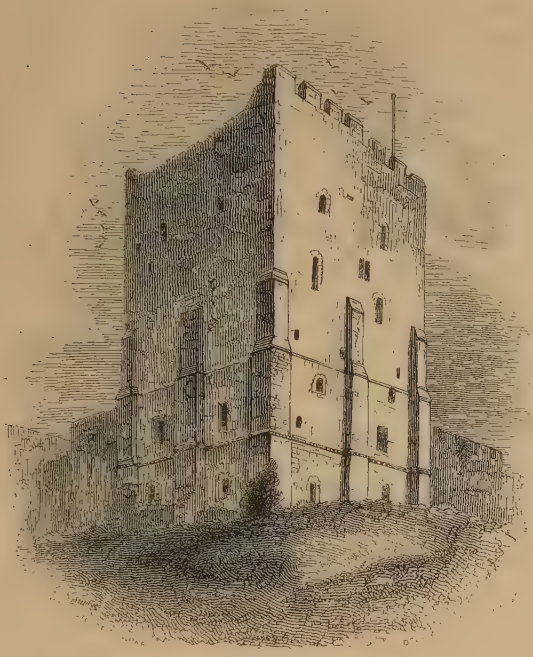
We are now compelled to travel over in silence a dark period of several intervening centuries before any further light breaks in upon the history of this interesting building. At how early a time the Anglo-Saxons held it as a fortress it would be worse than hazardous to guess, and as conjecture is all that can be offered, it will be more prudent to discard from consideration the notion of Portha, accompanied by his two sons Biod and Megla, capturing in 418 the enfeebled Romano-British garrison of Caer-Peris, and to come at once to what we are assured is authentic.

The invaluable survey of the Conqueror, from which the moral philosopher, the historian, and the antiquary, will, for years in advance, be able to elicit new inductions, and out of

which they will continually open fresh springs of information, is the first record we are naturally inclined to consult. From this it is gathered, that, at the time of the survey, Porchester was held by William Maldrith as one manor, and assessed as two and a half hides, though at the time of King Edward it was held by three freemen as three manors, and assessed as five hides of land. The motive for this alteration in the tenure may easily be conceived; it goes on, here are five carucates, two are in demesne, that is, belonging to the crown; five villeins, or copyhold slaves, and four borderers, or labourers, occupy one carucate and a half. Here are four slaves (servi) and a fishery for the use of the hall. Here are woods for five swine. Durandus holds one hide in the manor from William, and he has one carucate in demesne, and the mill for thirty pence. At the time of King Edward it was worth four pounds ten shillings, and afterwards five pounds, but now six pounds[n]. This survey was finished about 1086, and as there is no mention made in it of a castle at this time, but only of a hall, the building here spoken of was perhaps merely the dwelling-place of the tenant in capite. Arguing from this omission, from the style of architecture, and recorded facts that will speedily be adverted to, the erection of the Keep must be assigned to the twelfth century, some time in the reign of Stephen, or one of the two first Henrys, a period when so many castles were raised generally throughout England.

This will be a fair opportunity to explain it, though it is indeed so simple a structure that it admits of little description. It is built at the north-west corner of the Roman enclosure, like other Keeps it is quadrangular, and like Rochester, Castle Rising, Colchester, and Dover, internally divided by a party wall running from the bottom to the top. The exterior is faced with Caen stone, carefully dressed in small and regular sized blocks, according to the common practice of the period, and the inside filled up with flints or beech rubble. The walls are 7 ft. 6 in. thick, and the building, rather below the average size of such strongholds, consists of four floors. And here it may be remarked that the number of stories in these Keeps may generally be seen by a glance at their outside, as the sets off, or string-courses, or stages in the wall, always indicate the successive levels of the rooms within. Both inside and out there

[n] Domesday, vol. i. p. 47.



Keep, Porchester.

is a total absence of decoration, unless we except the small nebule ornament on the lowest corbel-table, confined to the north and west sides. There seem but two trifling peculiarities to distinguish this keep from others; one in the upper part, where it presents the appearance of having been finished in a gabular form, as the courses run up from the north and south to an angle of about 10°; it is doubtful, however, whether this work be original; the other peculiarity, at the basement, shews the usual feature of oilets of this age, that of being splayed in both directions. A change takes place in the masonry about half way up the building.

Window, Porchester

The rooms are more than commonly dark, being lighted in the three lowest tiers by merely small narrow loops; and the uppermost floor, the one of most consequence, is but little better provided. The way in which both light and air are alike excluded gives

us a curious insight into the domestic inconveniences of the early English kings, who, when compelled to stay within doors, must have passed much of their time in a dim and murky twilight, especially when they made Porchester their occasional abode. We need not therefore wonder at the gloomy vista that impresses the mind on entering ecclesiastical buildings, nor be surprised at the darkness of some of those ancient parish churches that persons of refined and chastened minds take such natural delight in examining, since the same obscurity reigns in all our buildings of that age.

Contiguous to the Keep is a long building of a late Decorated character, whose original use can only be surmised. Another, more ornamental and mixed in the style of its architecture, adjoins it, forming the third or south side of the inner baly. This exhibits, amid a few remains of Norman, some very good specimens of Tudor architecture. The east side has suffered more materially by later additions. A tower at the northern corner is left less injured by the various and extensive alterations that have been perpetually made in this portion of the castle. There is nothing to indicate the exact use of either of these three sides of the inner baly. The most reasonable supposition is, that they were those apartments spoken of in the operation rolls as the Queen's and Knighton's chambers. The entrance to the inner baly was under two portcullices.

The first incidents connected with Porchester deserving mention are the visits of King John. These, as we gather from the attesting of royal writs, amounted to no less than eighteen; and, with the exception of those he paid to Marlborough, Clarendon, and Rockingham, and the fifty-two with which he honoured Winchester, he came hither oftener than to any other place in his dominions. From the Royal Itinerary, compiled by Mr. Hardy, it appears that he was here,

1200. April 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, when from hence or Portsmouth he probably sailed for the continent, as we next hear of him at Valognes on the 2nd of May; so after the 14th of May, 1201, he is next

found attesting writs on the continent, where he remained till the 5th of December, 1203. On the seventh of this month and year he landed at Portsmouth from Barfleur, and as he went to Southwick there seems no reason for doubting that he also came to Porchester.

1201. May 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.
1204. April 6, 9.
May 5, 6, 7.
1205. May 31.
June 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.
1206. April 10.
May 8.
1207. May 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.
1208. March 25, 26, 27.
May 27, 28.
1209. May 24.
1211. Feb. 20.
1213. April 4, 5, 6, 7, between Porchester and Fareham on April 8.
June 16.
July 17, 18.
1214. Jan. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31.
Feb. 1.

Before proceeding chronologically with the notices that may be gleaned relative to the castle, it would be well to mention the appointment of constables, but having already stated in the 4th number of the Archæological Journal what were their peculiar duties, it will be unnecessary at present to express anything more respecting them than that the Constabularius Castri, and the Custos Castri, were only synonymous titles for the same officer.

CONSTABLES OF PORCHESTER CASTLE.

1205. Hugh de Nevil[o].
1215. Henry, son of the earl[p].
—— Radulfus G'nun[q].
—— Joscelin de Montibus[r].
1216. Saurez de Malo Leone[s].
1236. Galfridus de Insula; the custody of the castles of Winchester and Porchester, with the forest of Porchester, and the shrievalty of Hampshire. (20th Hen. III.[t])
1256. Henry de Farnleg[u].
Robert de Mares[x].

[o] Rot. Lit. Claus.
[p] Rot. Lit. Pat., p. 130.
[q] Ib., p. 155.
[r] Ib., p. 159.
[s] Ib., p. 186.
[t] Abbrev. Rot. Orig., vol. i. p. 1.
[u] Ib., vol. i. p. 15.
[x] Excerp. Rot. Fin., vol. ii. p. 371

1259. John de Essebyrer[y].
William de Wyteway.
Henry de Boninges.
1290. Henry Huse[z].
1325, 1326. Thomas de Saunford[a].
1327. Robert de Hanstede[b].
1321. Hugh le Spenser, together with the village and forest during royal pleasure. (14th Edw. II.)[c]
1321, 1322. John Erle, 15th Edw. II.[d]
1330. John Randulf, custody of the castle and manor of Porchester, paying yearly to the king twenty-five marks[e].
1327. John de Basyng, (20th Edw. II.[f])
1331. William de Weston; for his good services, and also for remitting[g] two hundred pounds, and three pounds fifteen shillings, in which the king was bound, the custody granted for his life, on payment of sixpence daily to the hands of the sheriff.
1335. Richard, earl of Arundel, during royal pleasure[h].
1361. John de Edyngton, on paying ten pounds eleven shillings and sevenpence farthing to the crown annually[i]. Edward the Third addressed a writ to the sheriffs, bailiffs, and his faithful servants, to aid and assist him in pressing into his service all masons, carpenters, and other workmen, excepting those belonging to the Church, wheresoever they could be found, for the purpose of carrying on the works at the castle[k]; and by another writ addressed to the abbat of Tichefeld and John Botiler, these two persons were appointed overlookers of the works in progress, as well as charged with the payments for all wages and materials[l].
1376. Robert de Asheton, the castle, village, and royal forest, on the same terms as his kinsman, Richard, earl of Arundel[m].
1377. Henry Borhunte, licensed to enfief it[n].
1440. Sir John Cherowin.
1464. John, earl of Worcester.
William Uvedale.
William Merfield.

[y] Abbrev. Plac., p. 146.
[z] Rot. Pat.
[a] Rot. Pat. 19 Edw. II. apud Turrim.
[b] Rot. Pat. 19 Edw. II. apud Turrim.
[c] Abbrev. Rot. Orig., vol. i. p. 254. Philip Aubin and other citizens of Winchester petition the crown that whereas Edw. II., acting by the advice of Hugh Despenser and others, victualled the castle of Porchester with wines, and afterwards sent for the said citizens and imprisoned them six days, until they agreed to buy the said wines then corrupted, and entered into a recognizance of 139*l.* which wines they had carried part into Flanders, and part into Ireland, and could not sell them, but were imprisoned for the same.—Rot. Pat. ii. 413.
[d] Calend. Inquis. ad Damnum, p. 221.
[e] Abbrev. Rot. Orig., p. 41.
[f] Abbrev. Rot. Orig., p. 304.
[g] Abbrev. Rot. Orig., vol. ii. p. 57.
[h] Ib., p. 94.
[i] Ib., p. 266.
[k] Rot. Pat. 35 Edw. III. apud Turrim.
[l] Ib.
[m] Abbrev. Rot. Orig., vol. ii. p. 345.
[n] Calend. Inquis. ad quod Damnum, 221.

Preparatory to the visit of King John in 1205, he ordered the bailiff of Southampton to send two casks of wine to Porchester for his use[o], which two casks were subsequently ordered to be sent to Clare[p]. He ordered William de Cornhill to send an engineer (*ingeniator*) and sixteen miners (*miniatores*) without delay to Porchester, from Winchester, and to do there for twenty days what Hugh de Neville or his bailiff should order them; and at the same time Hugh de Neville was commanded to find twenty chosen men to assist the miners he had sent[q].

He also ordered William de Cornhill to send Stephen English, artificer, to Porchester, and to let the constable know the time of his payment, as the constable was informed he should pay him as he was directed[r]; and at the same time a writ was addressed to the constable informing him of these particulars[s]. In the same year he ordered the constable to give to Roger de Mobray a cask of wine from the castle stores for provisioning his ship[t]. At this time it appears that Porchester was a royal storehouse for wine, thirty tuns being then there[u]. In corroboration of this an entry occurs on the Close Rolls the succeeding year, shewing that William English and Robert Harding were ordered to send the two tuns of wine there which William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, owed to the crown[v].

In 1207 the king ordered that the sheriff of Wiltshire should be paid for sixty sheep for the use of Porchester[w], at the rate of sixteen-pence each. In the same way the sheriff of Sussex was ordered to find in addition to the nineteen marks, what was needful for making the petraria and mangonells, and to cause them to be transported as far on their road to Porchester as his bailiwick extended, and to deliver them to the sheriff of Southampton for that purpose[x]. The following year (1208) the bailiff of Porchester was desired to have made petraria and mangonells for the use of the castle, and to let Drago of Dieppe have every thing requisite for the purpose[y]. Five years later (1213) King John ordered the bailiff of Southampton to send to Porchester ten or twelve carpenters

[o] Rot. Lit. Claus. 17. After the Winchester meeting I examined the building at Southampton where the royal wines were kept. It presents a false machicolated front, with lateral entrances. Part of this building is now used as a refectory for the mendicants of the district.

[p] Ib., 39.
[q] Ib., 28.
[r] Ib., 31.
[s] Ib., 37.
[t] Ib., 37.
[u] Ib., 55.
[v] Ib., 69.
[w] Ib., 84.
[x] Ib., 17.
[y] Ib., 108.

who knew how to make casks, and to purchase ten or twelve empty ones to be made into smaller, for holding the quarrells[z], necessary for its defence. Although the attesting of writs from this place do not shew that the monarch was here in 1215, it seems probable he was so, or at least encouraged such an intention, having given the necessary instructions to the keepers of the royal wine at Southampton to send here one cask of white and two of red for his own use[a].

In 1220 Henry III. commanded the sheriff of Southampton to pay Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester, a hundred shillings for the strengthening his royal castle of Porchester[b]: and three years later (1223) the bailiffs of Southampton were directed to purchase for the royal use ten casks of Gascon wine and send them to the constable of Porchester[c]. In the forty-third year of this monarch's reign (1259) all the burgesses of Porchester who held of the king in capite were bound to furnish twelve men for the king's army for the fifteen days it lay there[d].

During this king's reign it was repeatedly used as a state prison[e].

This will be a fitting place to say a few words regarding military tenures, so far as they are connected with Porchester. It is difficult to affix a precise date to the entries in the Testa de Neville, that will first claim attention. They either belong to the latter part of Henry III.'s reign, or the commencement of his successor's, and this is the period to which the ensuing facts may be assigned. The nature of those tenures by which persons held their lands, was uncertain and variable; in some cases the offering the king three barbed arrows when he went to hunt[f], or a pair of hare-skin gloves[g], or of embroidered slippers[h], or of holding the royal stirrup[i], or of finding two white capons for his table[j], or on the other hand, as in the present example of William de Cosham, who held Cosham by the service of finding a soldier for the castle of Porchester with a hauberk for forty days in war time[k]. William de Borhonte held a carucate of land in Borhonte by the same tenure[l]. Henry de Wansted held his

[z] Rot. Lit. Claus. 136.
[a] Ib., 190.
[b] Ib., 412.
[c] Ib., 557.
[d] Abbrev. Plac. 146.
[e] Rot. Lit. Pat., 102, 109, 116, 130.
[f] Abbrev. Rot. Orig., 53.
[g] Ib., 246.
[h] Ib., 97.
[i] Ib., 181.
[j] Ib., 341.
[k] Testa de Nevill., 235.
[l] Ibid.

land in Wansted on condition of rendering the same service for eight days[m]. Robert de Rethem held three virgates of his land with their appurtenances by the service of finding a foot soldier for the castle for the like period[n]. At a time probably somewhat later, William de Burhunte held in capite forty solidates, or four hundred and eighty acres, of land, by the serjeanty of being in the castle of Porchester with a hauberk for twenty days during the time of war. On the same conditions William de Cosham held in the village of that name sixty solidates of land, or seven hundred and twenty acres. Henry de Wansted held ten solidates by the serjeanty of finding one serving man with a pourpoint (*cum perpuncto*) and an iron head-piece (*capello ferreo*) for eight days in the castle of Porchester during war. Robert de Erthum or de Rethem held the same quantity of land in this village on the like conditions[o].

Sometimes, however, the amount of acreages held by the tenants became varied through an alienation of part of their possessions to some other individual, as in the case of Adam de Wenstede, who in the first instance was bound to find one serving man for the castle during war, but who, like Peter de Cosham, whose serjeanty was similar, was excused the full discharge of his military service proportionably with the alteration of his tenure[p]. They varied also according to the caprice or necessities of the crown, who frequently seized them to replenish an exhausted exchequer. In this manner did Peter de Cosham and Herbelin de Burhunte also hold their serjeanties of ancient fee, and perform their appointed services; so in like way did Fulco de Wymminge perform duty himself, or by his substitute, for seven days at the castle, whilst Peter de la Bere held his lands in Bere by paying to the castle of Porchester half a mark[q].

These possessions were subsequently confiscated and transferred from Henry de Burhunte and Peter de la Bere, to Roger le Conners and his son[r], in consequence of their having joined the rebellious barons.

Richard de Saundford held his lands from Edw. II. (1326) by the service of finding one soldier and keeping guard at the castle of Porchester for five days, at his own cost, during war time[s].

[m] Testa de Nevill., 235.
[n] Ibid.
[o] Ib., 237.
[p] Ib., 238.
[q] Ib., 232.
[r] Rot. Select., 256.
[s] Abbrev. Rot. Orig., v. ii. p. 4.

Among the earlier acts of Edw. I. was an examination into the state of the revenue of the royal demesnes[t]. The profligate expenditure of Henry III., the subsidies he had exacted from the tenants in capite in this infancy of taxation, as well as the uncontrolled conduct of the nobles and ecclesiastics, rendered such a measure absolutely necessary. In the second year of his reign (27th Oct. 1274) a writ was addressed to the sheriff of Hampshire, stating that Guido de Taunton and William de Boyvile were empowered to take an extent of Porchester; and this commission, which they discharged on Thursday next after the feast of St. Martin, the following year, furnishes us with the ensuing information, which will at once explain the absence of those features in the architecture of the early portion of Porchester that so continuously occurs in other buildings of Roman origin: *They report that the buildings in the castle are old and ruinous, and unfit for habitation, and needing great repair*[u]. In fact during the reign of Henry II. repairs were continually going on, especially towards its close, as appears from entries on the Pipe Roll of that time. It is therefore very probable that the whole of the castle at this time underwent a thorough reparation; that though the ground-plan of the enceinte or promurale remained the same, yet the facing and the upper portion were renewed, so that scarcely any of its original appearance could be traced. This supposition will also explain the anomalous construction of the northern and southern sides, where among work of all ages downwards, the indications of isodomic masonry are still faintly discernible.

In 1280 the king claimed two parts of the manor of Porchester then held by the abbot and convent of Thichefeud, but they declared that Peter Roches, formerly bishop of Winchester, assigned it to them freely, as he had received it from Henry III.[x] This is confirmed by a passage in the Hundred Rolls, 1274, where it is stated that the priory then at Suwik was formerly endowed by the king for the castle of Porchester for his own convenience[y].

In 1287 an extent was taken of the manor[z]. It appeared from this that Herblin de Burhunte held his serjeanty on condition of finding one man towards garrisoning the castle of

[t] Annal. Waverl., 235.

[u] Among the miscellaneous rolls in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office, Rot. 3 Edw. I.

[x] Placita de quo Warranto, 767.

[y] Vol. ii. p. 223.

[z] Misc. Rot., Queen's Rememb., 10 Edw. I.

Porchester for fifteen days in time of war, whom he was to equip with a horse and hauberk, (*haubergellum*,) with an iron head-piece or helmet, and lance, at his own cost during the king's pleasure. Walter Bell**s owed for his petit serjeanty the finding a man for the same purpose and place for eight days, and to send him armed in pourpoint (*perpuncto*) with a lance and helmet; whilst William de Porcestre was obliged to furnish twelve men, similarly equipped, for fifteen days. At this time (1287) the royal demesnes of Porchester consisted of the following possessions.

The king held a meadow in demesne at the back of the castle, worth three shillings a year; a mill near to it worth ten; he also took annually, in the village of Porchester, thirty quarters of salt, worth thirty shillings; ten widgeons, (*wygones*,) or ten fowls, worth tenpence; also the pleas and perquisites of the court at Porchester, worth, on an average, ten shillings; and the pleas and perquisites of the forest of Bere, worth five shillings. We next find the smaller tenures examined, to ascertain whether their terms, or rents, as we should say, could be raised, and the valuation proceeds as follows:— Alexander Knave, Alexander Chappe, Robert Pleier, and Nicolas Clement, each held a villenage for half-a-crown a year, and another half-crown was due from them, according to the nature of the tenure, at the king's option. They could not on the present occasion be increased, because their operations or services were few, and they were accustomed to take much from the crown for those operations, so that it would be more profitable for the king to increase them. And it should be observed, that because each of these five individuals hold entire villenages, they owe three bushels of corn as Church scot, (*churshet*[a],) worth thirteen-pence halfpenny, thirty eggs at Easter, worth a penny, and sixpence a year for *hinhethinge*. Then come the rents of other tenants, from which we learn that Galfridus le Gos paying for half an acre of the better soil, sixpence, and Stephen Gamel, for two acres and a half of the worse soil, tenpence, the average value per acre of land at Porchester at this period was fourpence; or, comparing it with the price of the forementioned corn, the worth of a bushel of wheat was about equivalent to the rent of an acre of land[b].

It does not as yet appear that Edward I. actually visited

[a] Churshet, corn paid to the Church; v. Introd. to Domesday, p. xcvi.
[b] Misc. Rot. 2 Rem. 10 Edw. I.

Porchester. It is well known that the two first years of his reign were spent abroad, and that his desire to deprive the Welsh mountaineers of those inherent rights which the spirit of feudality opposed, occasioned him to pass much of the early part of his reign among these primitive and liberty-loving people. He was at Portsmouth from June 29 to July 20, 1294; and then at Fareham from the 26th of this month to the 6th of August. He again went to Porchester. The 23rd, 24th, and 25th of August he passed at Winchester. Probably the royal castle was unsuitable to receive him[c].

The ruinous condition of the castle already adverted to will have prepared us for the examination of the modes adopted to restore it to a proper state of efficiency as a fortress. And to make this part of the subject sufficiently intelligible, it may be desirable to state, that when these and similar exigencies arose, the crown appointed commissioners to make a survey, and this survey having been completed, the repairs were forthwith commenced. The particulars of their cost are found entered upon the minister's accompt rolls, still preserved in her Majesty's Remembrancer's office; these expenses are enumerated with such remarkable exactness and accuracy, that it appears difficult to suppose any item can possibly be omitted. This will be, however, better understood from an analysis of an operation roll of this nature. We will take therefore the particulars of the account (*compotus*) of Peter de Pulford, overlooker and clerk of the works of Edw. II., in his castle of Porchester, with his receipts and expenditure during one year, from the 20th of September the 14th, to the 20th of September the 15th year of Edw. II. (1320, 1321.)

The receipts are always entered first, and arise from the sale of wood fallen in the royal forest, or from the sale of other produce belonging to the royal demesnes. After the receipts, which in this year were £55. 0*s*. 0½*d*., the details of the expenditure are carefully given; and these details usually follow each other in systematic order. First, the cost of the materials, such as stone and wood, is given; then come the wages of the people employed, the foundation diggers, (*fundatores,*) the masons, (*cementarii,*) who received fourpence a day; their serving-men, (*servientes,*) the collectors of stone, (*colligent lapid,*) and throwers of sand, (*jactant zabulon,*)

[c] See MS. Itinerary of Edw. I. in the Queen's Rem. Office.

twopence; the carpenters, (*carpentarii*,) the sawyers, (*sarratores*,) fourpence; the fallers, (*prostratores*,) and bark peelers, (*scapulatores*,) threepence halfpenny; and so on to the tilers, (*latamorum*,) the plumbers, (*plumbatores*,) the smiths, (*fabri*,) the laborers, (*laborores*,) the victuallers, (*providenc*,) and finally, the payment of the overlookers themselves. The various expenditure under each of these heads, is entered week by week, as it was incurred; and we will now proceed to make such extracts from these authentic accounts that have seemed to supply the most instructive illustration of the methods pursued, and the cost incurred, in erecting these interesting buildings, which were once alike the terror and the safeguard, as they still remain the monuments, of our ancient fame. Structures, it is true, that rose at the bidding of ambitious rulers, and at a time when the upper classes tyrannically repressed every exertion that aimed at extending the natural rights of society; yet still to be preserved, and left to posterity, as the memorials of a despotism that civilization has overthrown, to shew them that the misery and rapine inseparable from feudalism, has been transferred from bitter endurance to the pages of history or the records of national injustice; and to teach them how dearly to cherish those privileges which a gracious sovereign has ratified to an united people. Stained as these fabrics may be by the deeds of unrelenting and merciless men, still let their tottering walls be kept from entire destruction, were it only to afford a sequestered spot where the unlettered hind can gaze in mute astonishment, and moralize, where the lover of silent nature may gather up those broken lines of beauty that charm and captivate our eyes when traced upon his canvass, and where the exploits of chivalry, and the songs of wandering minstrels, and the fictions of legendary lore, may become idealized by the creations of poetry.

From the compotus of Peter de Pulford, we learn that great part of the rough materials employed in the works at Porchester were collected from the adjacent beach at the rate of twopence a day; that a new lock and key for the little eastern gate cost fourpence; that William Giles the tiler was paid fourpence, and his boy Robert twopence a day, for the work on which they were employed, namely, in roofing the chamber of Edward II. In the seventh week two large hawsers were bought for 43*s*. 8*d*. to draw the wood and stones to the sum-

mit of the tower. In the twenty-second week thirty-two weldichborde were purchased at Havonte at fourpence each; and 157 stones bought from Thomas le Piper at the cost of 10*s.*, and six shillings paid for their carriage from the Isle of Wight, for the foundations of the bridge underneath the castle. It may be curious to know what sum Peter de Pulford usually received for his trouble, and this information is found on a roll subsequently delivered. For a year's wages, from Michaelmas-day 1341, to the same in 1342, both days inclusive, he took seventeen guineas, or 12*d.* a day[d].

It is difficult in thus treating of the architectural history of Porchester, to avoid alluding to the historical events of the period. It is a period to be traced by the marks of cruelty and oppression and bloodshed on the part of the nobles, by the sullen servility and degradation of their vassals, by rebellions at home, and expensive wars abroad. One of the latter calamities had just arisen, and the unfortunate Edward of Caernarvon, having been deposed in the twentieth year of his reign, his son ascended the throne, with the prospect of immediate war with France before him. The declaration of it had already been made, and a great muster of his troops took place at Porchester. All the particulars at this time are very minutely recorded, and were not the latter membranes of the muster roll lost, it would be an easy matter to ascertain the exact number of the forces he collected here for embarkation, for as far as the roll has been preserved, the name of each soldier can be ascertained[e].

Edward II. passed a fortnight at Porchester in 1324, (from the 9th to the 23rd of July[f];) he was again here from the 7th of Sept. to the 4th of October in the same year[g]; for a week in the month of May the following year, (May 12 to May 18, 1325[h];) for two days in Aug. (2nd—4th[i];) and from the 1st to the 16th of September, 1326.[k]

In the first year of Edw. III. (1327), John Cavenatur was ordered to come to the castle, and remain here until he had received twenty-five casks of wine for its use; so were Henry de Bury and others to receive twenty-five, some of the citizens of Southampton thirty casks, and Philip Aubin and others

[d] Miscel. Rot. Q. Rememb. 14 and 15 Edw. III.

[e] Miscel. Rot. Q. Rememb. 20th Edw. II.

[f] Parl. Writs, vol. ii. p. 389.

[g] Ib., 401, 2.

[h] Ib., 421, 2.

[i] Ib., 447.

[k] Ib., 448. Edw. III. was here July 1, 2, 1346. (Rymer's Fœder.)

forty casks, of wine for the use of the garrison[l]. In 1338 the sheriff of Southampton was commanded to purchase and take to the castle forty quarters (*quarteria*) of corn, as many of barley, and five casks of wine, and pay for them out of the proceeds of his bailiwick[m].

At this time the king embarked for the continent to justify his claims on the kingdom of France; his parliament seem to have been equally wild with ambition, as they granted him half the wool belonging to the laity, and the whole of that of the clergy, for the enterprise.

The royal castle of Porchester was ordered to be thoroughly repaired, and Richard, earl of Arundel, its constable, was appointed to see that the ruinous parts were restored[n]. A roll of the particular charges for mending the Queen's Chamber has been preserved; it is a valuable architectural document; in this place, however, only a few general references can be made to its contents.

It commences by stating the receipts by the hands of John Hacket and John de Scures, the earl's locum tenens, which were £20. Then ensue the costs of repairing Queen Philippa's chamber; such as the 10,000 slate at 12d. a thousand, the laths, and lath nails, the lime, the shingel and the shingel nail, the padlocks and the keys. We have next the expenses of the reparations of another chamber called Knighton's chamber, where the prices of beams, wall-plates and liernes, chevrons, laces and boards, are given, besides several particulars relative to the price of task-work for tilers and labourers. Then come the items for the purchase of necessary materials, and their transport, such as slate, latten, and lath nail, floor nail, board nail, lead, hooks and hinges. Among the general outlays for substantial defence there occurs mention of the erection of 'a fausse wall against the treachery of the French,' of the barbican and the bretash, embattled walls and barriers.

The engines of war are severally specified, with their respective costs; for instance, the lesser and the greater springâlds, with the coleria, the bolts, and the forelocks; the horse-hair, and the caps for discharging the missiles. Again, the charges for darts, robinets, quarrells, banderies, and hancepits; and lastly, the expenditure in consequence of the damage occasioned by the late high wind.

[l] Calend. Inquis. ad damn., 287.
[m] Abbrev. Rot. Orig., vol. ii. p. 128.
[n] Rot. Miscel. Q. Rememb., 12th Edw. III.

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